35 Cents
January 30, 1962

NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

An Appeal to the American People

PRESIDENT MOISE TSHOMBE

The Indian Elections

PRAKASH C. JAIN

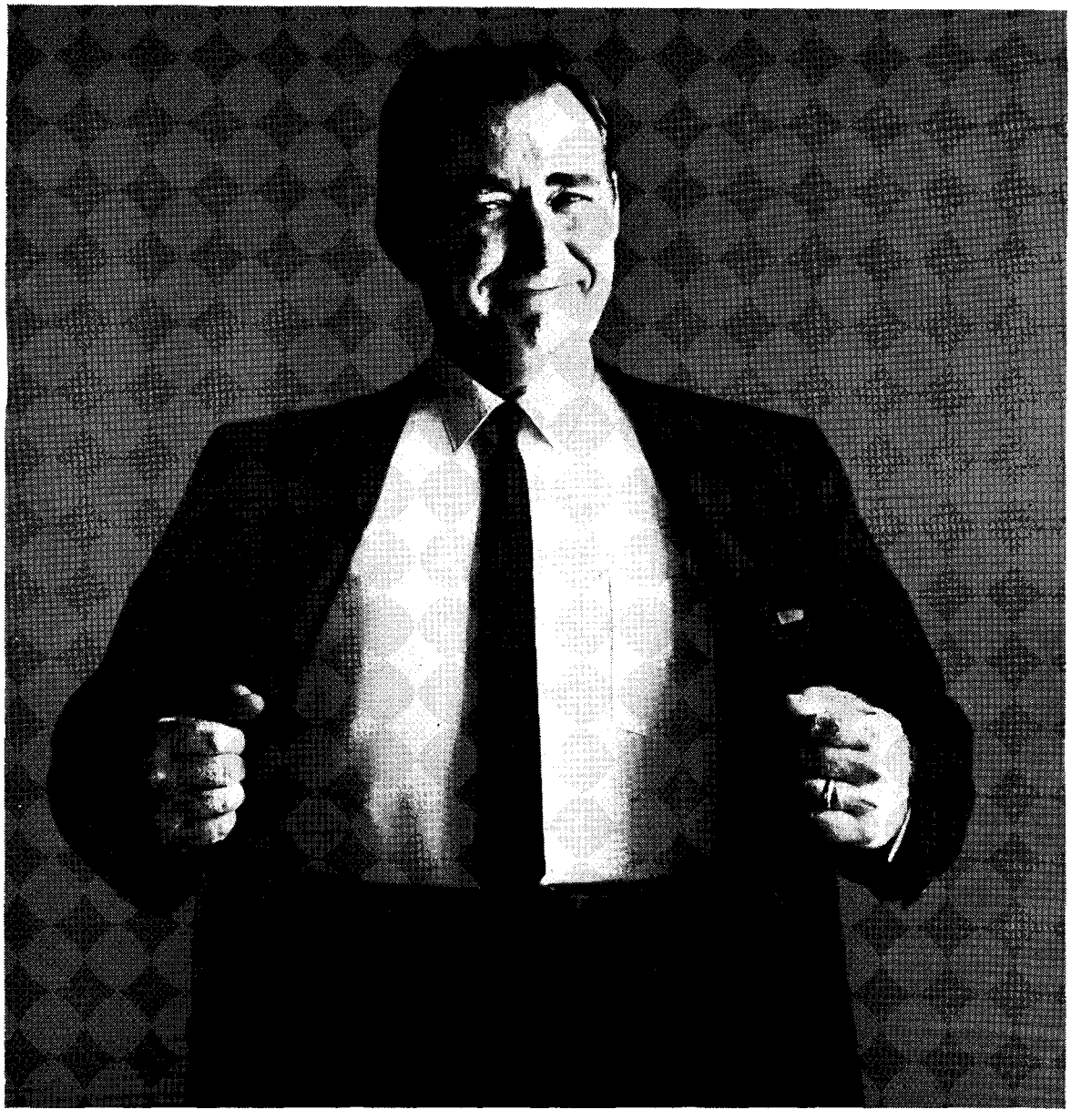
Do-It-Yourself Conservatism?

M. MORTON AUERBACH, RUSSELL KIRK
FRANK S. MEYER, M. STANTON EVANS

Articles and Reviews by .... MICHAEL J. BERNSTEIN
ANTHONY LEJEUNE · WALTER JACOBS · JOHN HEATH-STUBBS
NOEL E. PARMENTEL JR. · CATO · WILLIAM OLIVER MARTIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

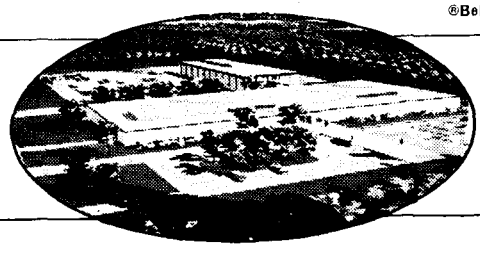
TEXTILE RESEARCH PLAYS VITAL ROLE IN OUR FUTURE ECONOMY



it's Belfast!... We have no cigars to pass out, just the good news that this Manhattan Shirt of Belfast® Self-Ironing Cotton can be washed and dried any way at all without needing even a touch-up with an iron.

BELFAST SELF-IRONING FABRICS DIVISION
Deering Milliken, Inc., 1045 Sixth Avenue, New York 18, N. Y.

®Belfast is the registered trademark of the Deering Milliken Research Corporation for its self-ironing fabrics.



Deering Milliken Research Corp., Spartanburg, S. C.

America's largest, most modern research facilities devoted exclusively to textile research.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

EDITOR: Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
PUBLISHER: William A. Rusher

EDITORS
L. Brent Bozell, James Burnham, Willmoore Kendall
Frank S. Meyer, William F. Rickenbacker
MANAGING EDITOR: Priscilla L. Buckley
PRODUCTION EDITOR: Mabel Wood
ASSISTANT PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden

ASSOCIATES
Frank Chodorov, Morrie Ryskind
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: David Franke

CONTRIBUTORS
C. D. Batchelor, Colm Brogan, John Chamberlain, John Abbot Clark, Peter Crumpet, Forrest Davis, A. Derso, Joan Didion, Medford Evans, M. Stanton Evans, J. D. Futch, Henry Hazlitt, Aloise B. Heath, Will Herberg, Hugh Kenner, James Jackson Kilpatrick, John D. Kreuttner, Suzanne La Follette, Sir Arnold Lunn, J. B. Matthews, Jonathan Mitchell, Thomas Molnar, Gerhart Niemeyer, Maureen B. O'Reilly, E. Merrill Root, Ralph de Toledano, Richard M. Weaver, Frederick D. Wilhelmsen, Garry Wills

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS
London: Anthony Lejeune
Munich: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Charles J. McHugh
ADVERTISING MANAGER: Michael M. Mooney

CONTENTS JANUARY 30, 1962 VOL. XII, NO. 4

THE WEEK 47

ARTICLES, DEPARTMENTS

From Washington Straight .....Cato 54
Election Prospects in India .....Prakash C. Jain 55
Do-It-Yourself Conservatism (A Symposium)
M. Morton Auerbach, M. Stanton Evans, Frank S. Meyer, Russell Kirk 57
No Friends Allowed .....James Burnham 60
The Silence of Max Picard .....Russell Kirk 61
To the Editor 70

BOOKS, ARTS, MANNERS

Monarch of All They Survey
Michael J. Bernstein 63
'Enlightened' Error .....Anthony Lejeune 64
A Failure of Will .....Walter Darnell Jacobs 65
Missing the Point .....William Oliver Martin 66
Portrait of the Reviewer ....Noel E. Parmentel Jr. 68
Books in Brief 69

VERSE

Two Poems .....John Heath-Stubbs 62

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Review, Inc. at 440 Post Road, Orange, Conn. (second class postage paid at Orange, Conn. and at additional mailing offices). Copyright 1962 in the U.S.A., by National Review, Inc. All manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address and undelivered copies should be sent to:

EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES
National Review
150 East 35th St., New York 16, N.Y.
Telephone ORegon 9-7330

RATES: $15.00 a year ($8.00 for the 36-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate fortnights). The 8-page issues are available separately at $10.00 a year. In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

In This Issue . . .

➔ We print an Appeal addressed by Katanga's **Moise Tshombe** to the American people. We will not claim that appearance in *NR* is, as yet, a platform sufficient to guarantee getting his words to quite all that intended audience, but we hope that they will re-echo from our pages, for they are worth reading, on more than one account. Any other publication or radio-TV program is free to reproduce President Tshombe's Appeal without further authorization.

➔ A past book review swells into a current symposium. Some months ago **M. Stanton Evans,** still the nation's youngest daily newspaper editor though now a battle-decorated veteran at his Indianapolis post, reviewed, not too kindly, Prof. **M. Morton Auerbach's** *The Conservative Illusion.* Prof. Auerbach sent, in rebuttal, the renewed critique of present-day conservatism—as an impossible amalgam of Burke and Madison—that is printed herein, with Mr. Evans' rebutting rebuttal buttressed with supporting columns from Messrs. **Frank S. Meyer** and **Russell Kirk.** . . . Mr. Kirk himself is doubly with us, the second time with an eloquent, if necessarily paradoxical, praise of Silence, a state of soul nearly vanished from our world, but to be encountered in the serene mind of a little wise old man whom Russell Kirk saw, lately, on a mountain top. . . . **Prakash C. Jain,** an Indian journalist who has written before from New Delhi for *NR,* as well as other American periodicals, explains the general election that will take place in India a few weeks from now, and predicts the probable, and probably not too encouraging, results.

➔ The review section is led off by **Michael J. Bernstein,** whose workday task is to serve as Minority Counsel to the Senate's Committee on Labor and Welfare, and to give advice on labor facts and problems to sundry Very Important Senators. He has thus a vantage point of unusual adequacy for judging Jameson G. Campaigne's *Check Off: Labor Bosses and Working Men,* one of the few books to deal with the labor movement as it exists in the real rather than the ideological world. . . . **Anthony Lejeune** sends from London a review of a new book that, in explaining its origins, content and history, does not omit the dark side of the Enlightenment. Rhode Island Professor of Philosophy **William Oliver Martin,** long concerned with the philosophy of education, who spent last summer visiting Soviet schools, finds both his philosophy and that experience relevant to a balanced estimate of the much talked about *What Ivan Knows That Johnny Doesn't.* . . . Our poet, new to *NR's* pages, but well and eagerly known to others, is **John Heath-Stubbs,** now, in spite of that hyphen, living in Michigan's Ann Arbor. . . . And **Noel E. Parmentel Jr.** finds that he has to mix a little honey with his usual acid in telling about a remarkable new non-play by the author of *The Connection,* which in its third off-Broadway year is still dazzling its 14th Street audience. ➔

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

every
American
should
see

REVOLT IN

AN HISTORIC FIRST-HAND FILMED REPORT OF A FREE PEOPLE'S FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNISM ■ AN INDICTMENT OF UNITED NATIONS INACTION AND FAILURE!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An issue of paramount concern to the American people is our country's relationship with the United Nations. Those Americans who advocate strengthening United States cooperation with the United Nations argue that the U.N. is our only chance for world peace – that the U.N. protects the rights of small nations and guarantees self-determination to all peoples. These same Americans either ignore or attempt to excuse U.N. inaction in Hungary, Tibet and Goa. They even applaud U.N. *action* in Katanga which consisted of bombing and strafing the innocent people of Katanga to force the anti-Communist government of Moise Tshombe to cooperate with the Communist-infiltrated Congolese Central Government.

HUNGARY

Those Americans who are opposed to continued United States support of the United Nations can point to many reasons which justify their sentiments. The primary reason, however, is that **the United Nations has failed!** Beyond this, the U.N. serves as a real danger to United States sovereignty and security.

REVOLT IN HUNGARY *dramatizes the greatest failure of the United Nations. Just five years ago, Hungarian youth sparked the revolt that shook the very foundations of Communism. For seven delirious days, freedom triumphed. During these days, the Hungarian people called on the anti-Communist world for help. Brave words were spoken. No help was given! Finally, Khrushchev drowned the rebellion in its own blood. With unbelievable bravery, the Hungarian freedom fighters resisted to the last. Their final message over Radio Free Budapest was directed to the U.N. The message called on the U.N. for immediate help and ended by saying "For the sake of God and freedom, help Hungary!"*

What did the U.N. do? During this same period, it threatened sanctions—not against the Soviet Union. It threatened sanctions against Great Britain, France and Israel for the abortive attempt to protect the Suez Canal for the Free World.

We believe that **REVOLT IN HUNGARY** is an important pictorial indictment of the U.N. Made from films actually taken by freedom fighters in the heat of battle and later smuggled out of conquered Hungary, this 26-minute, black and white, 16mm sound film, documents the whole heartbreaking story of the epic struggle – and Russian savagery in crushing it. YOUR group or organization should see this film. It will make your next meeting the most meaningful one you have ever held. Only a limited number of these documentary films are available to Communications Distribution, Inc. (and it cannot be made available for rental!). The film sells for $135 complete. We pay all postage and handling charges, of course. The demand for our first film was so great that we urge you to act NOW, while the supply lasts! Use the coupon below to order your copy TODAY!

Yours FREE – with each film . . .

You will receive, *absolutely free*, with each film purchased, the following:

- **a *Discussion Guide* to the film. Five pages of invaluable factual information about the film, perfect for discussion leaders — or, you may, with our permission, reproduce this guide for your entire audience.**
- **"Hungary Under Soviet Rule." Prepared from material received by The American Friends of the Captive Nations (and others), this 75-page booklet gives you the latest information on what is happening in Hungary *now*.**

USE THIS COUPON to order your copy of this stirring film

MAIL IT TODAY!

IMPORTANT NOTE: this film is expressly *not available* for television or for commercial movie exhibitions!

COMMUNICATIONS DISTRIBUTION, INC. / 79 Madison Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Please send me_____Print(s) of the 26-minute, 16mm sound documentary film "REVOLT IN HUNGARY" at $135 each.

Enclosed is my check for $_____.

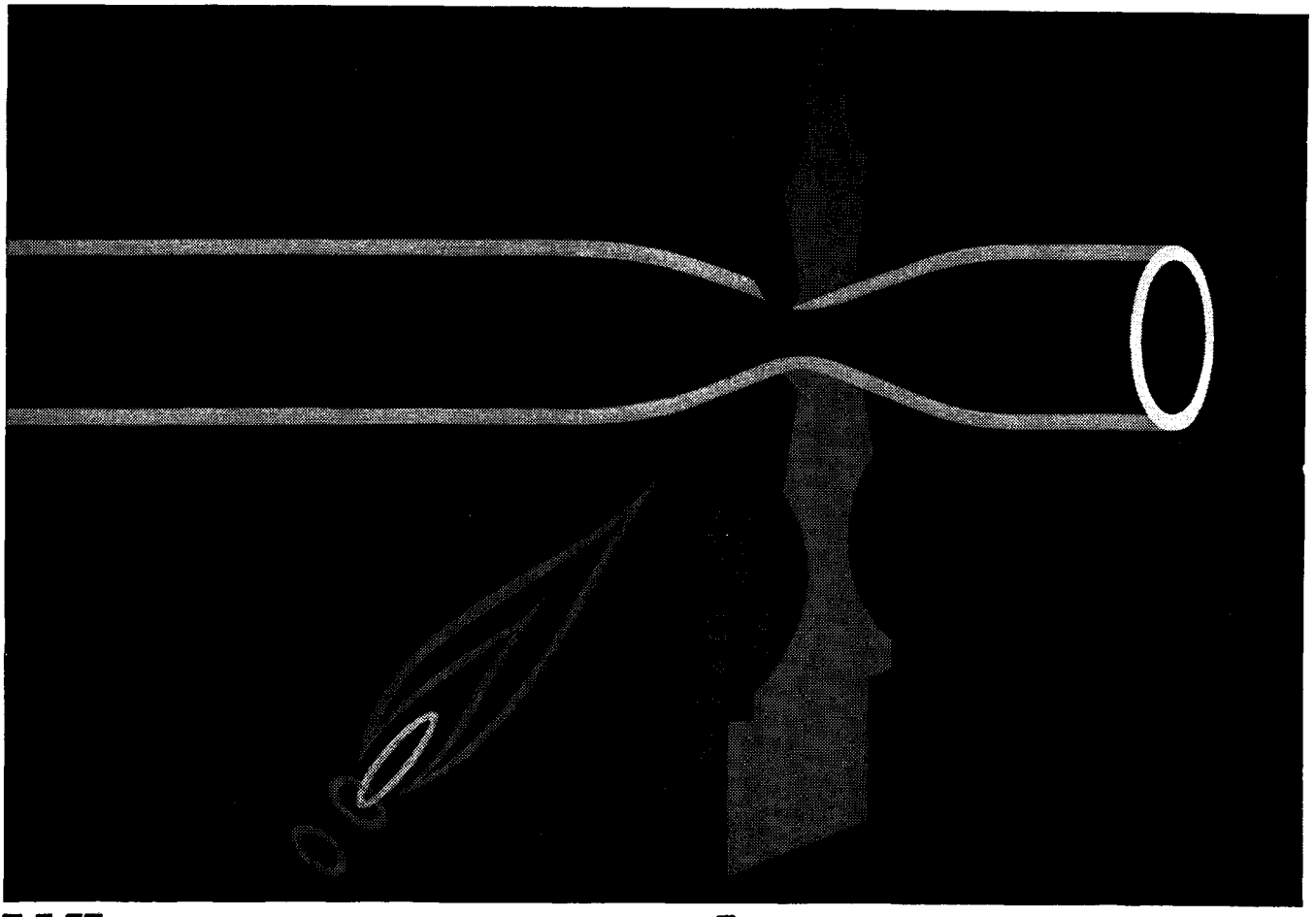
Name_____

Address_____

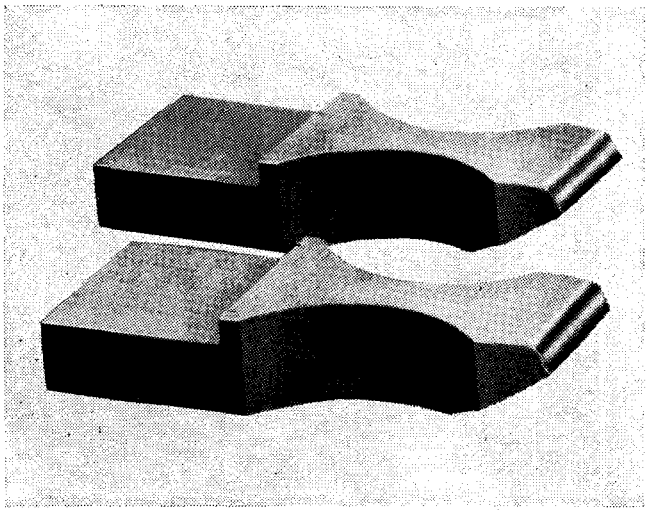
City_____ Zone_____ State_____

(please make all checks payable to Communications Distribution, Inc.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



What wears out in your plant?



PRODUCE 215,000 UNITS COMPARED TO 25,000

Kentanium pinch jaws solve a glass tubing pinch-off and vacuum sealing problem in production of sealed beam lamps by operating in a 1700°F flame to heat withdrawal tube—and by averaging 215,000 units as compared to 25,000 for steel jaws.

Where resistance to high heat is a requisite, Kentanium* heat-resistant titanium carbide alloys are ideal engineering materials. For they can operate continuously at temperatures up to 2200°F and at higher temperatures under specific conditions.

Kentanium's high strength and resistance to oxidation at high temperatures has greatly extended its field of usefulness. Other unique properties include high resistance to thermal shock, abrasion, deformation, and its high stiffness-to-weight ratio—the highest of any known material.

Some typical applications are hot rod mill guide inserts, flame burner tips, high temperature thermostat sensing elements, ball and seat valves, jet engine shaft seal rings and inserts for machining high temperature alloys at high velocity.

The outstanding properties of Kentanium, plus our research and development facilities are helping to translate ideas into products that combine reliability with long service. You may find profitable uses of Kentanium carbides in your plant.

For further information about Kentanium and its many uses, write to KENNAMETAL INC., Dept. NR, Latrobe, Pennsylvania. *Trademark 36911

INDUSTRY AND
KENNAMETAL
...Partners in Progress

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The WEEK

● A promotional letter from the publicity director of a New York publishing house, at year's end, concludes with the sentence: "And I want to wish you Season's Greetings, along with the judicious saying of a wise man who loved and understood mankind: Peace on earth to men of good will." And so the Angel at Bethlehem has been relegated to the class of a "wise man," along with, say, Walter Lippmann. We respectfuily remind the publicity director in question that one should not deprive anyone of rank and station without due process. To do so is ill willed and, if the aforementioned pundit is correct, undeserving of Peace.

● Mrs. Styles Bridges has announced her candidacy for the Senate seat that was vacated by the recent death of her husband. Governor Wesley Powell split the New Hampshire GOP into feuding factions when he appointed a political unknown—Maurice J. Murphy Jr.—rather than Mrs. Bridges to the vacant post. Murphy's interim term expires in the fall, when a special election will be held. He is expected to run against Mrs. Bridges, as is "moderate" Rep. Perkins Bass. Senator Barry Goldwater, who, as head of the Senate GOP campaign committee, usually keeps out of primary fights outside of Arizona, has endorsed Mrs. Bridges. The late Senator's friends, he says, "expected as a matter of loyalty and respect that Doloris [Mrs. Bridges] would receive this appointment."

● In the Never-Never world of Kwame Nkrumah, he has only to say, Let It be Done, and Lo It is Done; Let This be Truth, and Lo It is Truth. Let all wisdom, all knowledge, all science have been born in Africa, said Nkrumah, and Lo a painter appears and Behold on the walls of the Archives in Accra, vast murals show: Africans teaching Mathematics to the Greeks; Africans originating the Science of Medicine in the ancient Empire of Ghana; Africans originating the Science of Chemistry in the ancient Empire of Ghana; Africans teaching the Greeks the Alphabet; Africans (this time in Egyptian garb) discovering the Secret of Paper. And if you don't believe this is possible, just remember—the Africans invented Nkrumah.

● Three Liberal Democratic Senators, returning from a study mission to fifteen African nations, warned last week against extending American aid to newly-independent countries that do not protect "basic rights and freedoms." The three—Albert Gore (Tenn.), a member of the important Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Philip A. Hart (Mich.) and Maurine B. Neuberger (Ore.)—singled out the $366 million Volta River project in Ghana as an example where there is "serious doubt" that American assistance will "in fact promote independence and individual freedom." Neutralism will cause the African states "rapidly to lose influence in world forums," they warned, since "a policy of 'a plague on both your houses' is no policy at all." We hope that they will have a chance to put so unorthodox a view before their Party's leader.

● The European Common Market countries have reached an agreement on agricultural policy, which, because of the varying rates of subsidy in the different countries, presented complex difficulties. Essentially, the negotiators agreed to reduce their agricultural tariffs over a seven-and-one-half-year period, with the Common Market treasury taking an increasing burden of subsidies as the individual countries gradually shift their agricultural output in response to the rising force of free markets in farm products. During this period, theoretically, the Common Market as a whole may be able to reduce its agricultural subsidy costs by 50 per cent, and the funds thus liberated will find their way into economic production—a lesson, and an outlook, that American taxpayers might well envy as they pay their billions every year in tribute to the waste and foolishness of the United States farm program.

● The Kennedy Administration has asked Congress to raise the "temporary" debt limit by $10 billion—to a new high of $308 billion. This boost gives a hint about the size of the budget deficits likely to be incurred, deficits that arise when the expenses of temporary federal programs outrun the revenues from the personal income tax (levied as a temporary measure in World War I) and the corporate income tax (still at the temporary rate established during the Korean War) and the various other taxes (such as the tax on transportation and telephone use) adopted temporarily during World War II. As a matter of fact, just about everything connected with federal finance is temporary—including the value and prestige of the U.S. dollar.

● Published in the December 20 issue of *Libre Belgique*: "The Lohest, Hamoir, Debras, Derriks, Parisis, Melard, Piron and Defise families are profoundly grieved to inform their friends of the tragic death of Mme. Joseph Derriks, born Emma Hamoir, aged 87, a chevalier of the Royal Order of the Lion; of her son, M. Jean-Guillaume Derriks, aged 60, doctor of law from the University of Liège, honorary member of the Bar Association of Liège, counsel of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, with the title of Director General in Africa, civil cross of the second class of the war of 1914-1918, medal of the Political Prisoners, officer of the Royal Order of the Lion, officer of the Order of Léopold II, chevalier of the Order of the Crown; and of their old and devoted servant, Jean Fimbo: killed in their home by the soldiers of the UN at Elisabethville, the sixteenth of December, 1961."

● A former Peace Corpsman, and a recent acquaintance, informs us that the Peace Corps has a little list, a blacklist of "dictatorships" in which Sargent Shriver's little men shall never serve. They are: Free China, South Korea, South Vietnam and Laos (the last undoubtedly the only "dictatorship" in the world without a government).

● The Information Service of South Africa, which can spot bias faster than Bobbie Kennedy, complained to the editor of the *New York Times* that on maps appearing in its News-of-the-Week section South Africa was identified as "non-aligned" (along with such pro-Soviet dillies as Ghana, Guinea and Cuba). The *Times* retorted that while South Africa might consider itself pro-Western, the maps in question were based on military agreements between the West and other countries. An explanation the South Africans found scarcely adequate in view of a) the Simonston Agreement, which provides for the use of the Simonston Naval Base by Western powers in the event of hostilities, b) South Africa's formal guarantee that, in case of war, she will undertake to protect allied shipping around the southern tip of Africa, and c) recent maneuvers off Cape Town in which British, U.S. and South African naval units jointly participated.

● In the week ended January 10 the United States gold supply dropped by $50 million. Total gold loss for 1961 was just short of $1 billion. It would have been more than twice that figure but for the various types of temporary succor granted by our foreign allies. The deficit in our international payments increased steadily during 1961 to an annual rate of about $5 billion in the final quarter. Net foreign short-term claims now exceed our total gold supply by about $60 million. The ratio of gold to liabilities of the Federal Reserve System is at the lowest point in history. These facts alone should make us anxious. But when the Administration's program, despite these facts, includes new foreign-aid grants, continues harassment of business, and, almost certainly, large federal deficits, the outlook for the dollar and for our national solvency is desperate. At the present rate of financial deterioration the dollar will be in agony before the year is out.

● Recently in Buffalo, an affluent Australian couple, terminating an automobile tour of the United States, tipped the colored porter who helped them with their luggage by presenting him (not without a certain amount of fol-de-rol, one gathers from the newspaper account) with the keys and papers to their 1955 sedan in which they had toured the country. The porter, Mr. Edward Parence, expressed his gratitude, and away the Australians went. But then Mr. Parence informed reporters of his dilemma which, dear readers, all non-porters should reflect on. "This stumps me," he said. "I've already got two cars at home, and only a two-car garage. Now I don't know what to do."

What About the UN Bonds?

In re United Nations, NATIONAL REVIEW has never been able to render a black or white verdict. Our judgment has, on the evidence, inclined instead toward a rather dark gray. Put most simply, and not quite exactly, we believe that many of the *technical* functions served by the complex of agencies composing what one calls for short, "the UN," are desirable or necessary; but that most of the UN's *political* functions are not merely useless, but fraudulent, mischievous and often gravely injurious to the major goals—international peace and order—that the UN Charter proclaims. As a technical organization we are, if not unqualifiedly *for* the UN, at any rate prepared to accept it. As a political organization, we are against it, and strongly so. We therefore conclude that the UN ought to be, to the maximum extent possible, *depoliticalized*. If this proves to be impossible, then—since the political aspect has in the past year dropped to an intolerable badness—the UN as a whole ought to be liquidated.

Rapid communication and transport on a world scale along with other developments of modern technology, the population explosion, mass literacy and mobility, pose technical problems that can be handled only on an international scale: problems of disease control, allocation of radio-TV channels, air and soon space navigation rules, weather information, the assembling of many sorts of statistics, combatting international food pests (such as locusts or plant rusts) are examples. International agencies, for all their inevitable faults, are often the best and sometimes the only way to deal with many of these matters. Moreover, partly because of the sheer practical difficulties of staging international conferences and sustaining continuing international bodies, it is probably most efficient to have the various agencies linked through an over-all international organization.

Among the technical functions we would also in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clude the provision of physical facilities—buildings, properly equipped and staffed—where representatives of any nation may—if they so choose—enter into quick communication with representatives of any other or all other nations. The tempo of the modern world, rapid interaction of international events, and the huge number of nations make this, too, both a difficult and a desirable potential.

But there is no necessary reason why these international communications must include political decisions. Far from promoting peace, order and harmony among nations, the political motions, resolutions and acts of the UN have exacerbated bitterness, made compromise and negotiation more difficult, exaggerated minor differences into major crimes, helped create artificial blocs and splits, and actually brought chaos and war to regions that were doing all right while the UN kept out of their affairs.

These evils have been thrice compounded since the UN axis shifted from the Security Council to the General Assembly. It is inconceivable that a pow-wow of 104 diverse nations, each with full voice and vote, more than half of them weak, disorderly and immature, should conduct itself responsibly. Even the UN's greatest admirers throw up their hands in despair, nowadays, when they talk about the behavior of the Assembly. The Security Council, intended in the Charter to be the dominant body, is at least protected against itself by the sensible provision for the great-power veto.

Detailed evidence of the political faults, absurdities and crimes, risen to a new and awesome height this year past, may be found in the columns of NATIONAL REVIEW.

The fundamental reason for the monstrosity of the UN as a political organization lies in the fact that a fraud—or, more gently, an illusion—is embodied in its essence: the illusion that there exists a consensus of some significant sort among all nations of the world, leading them to seek peace, justice, freedom, well-being and what not, and serving as trustworthy foundation for an international law. The truth is otherwise.

The UN, thanks to the real conflicts among the real members (which led most of them to delinquency in payments) and to its own follies, is broke. At the State Department's suggestion, the UN is offering a $200 million bond issue to bail itself out from those follies of the past and permit it to proceed to the new follies of the future. Of course, it is not really a bond issue, as the two per cent nominal interest indicates. It is a sort of "income debenture" from an enterprise with no assured source of income: a type of security ordinarily not rated terribly high by Moody's.

President Kennedy has proposed to Congress that this country take up one-half, or $100 million worth, of this fictional paper. To do so would mean: a) to make that large amount of money unconditionally available to the irresponsible present Secretariat; and b) to endorse, in public political effect, the conduct of the UN that has resulted in the deficit: that is, the aggression against Katanga—the main source of the money trouble—plus the actions and inactions on Goa, Angola, nuclear bombs and the rest of it.

We therefore conclude, and urge upon Congress the conclusion: the President's recommendation should be rejected, and the UN bond issue turned down.

This conclusion is independent of the wider question of whether it is time to finish once for all with the UN. The life of the UN does not rest solely on the success of this blue sky bond flotation. It is quite possible for both admirers and critics of the UN to unite in opposing the bond issue, and it seems likely that this is to happen in Congress. Senator George Aiken, a Liberal and longtime friend of the UN, has joined with several of his colleagues in advising against approval. He rightly points out that,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

if it comes to an emergency question of saving the UN from dissolution, and if Congress continues to want to save it, specific grants for specific amounts and specific *purposes* may always be appropriated.

On the UN bond issue, then, we stand with Senator Aiken: Vote No, and may the Noes have it!

JFK: The Shifting Image

When he took office a year ago, John F. Kennedy carried into his official duties much of the exuberant energy and experimental imagination he had displayed during his campaign. His rhetoric was consistently peremptory: We Must, I Shall, We Shall. Exhilaration, amplitude, afflatus, hope, and resolution marked the times and drew his image.

Within three months all that was crushed in the dismal fiasco in Cuba. As time went on there was less and less of Laos to negotiate about. South Vietnam started rumbling. There was a meeting with Khrushchev, in which the President learned that his charm and rhetoric cannot be translated into Soviet Russian. The Congress ignored or openly rejected many legislative proposals dear to the heart of the Administration. The balance of trade narrowed; gold continued to drain away, at a pace reduced only by the generosity of our allies; by autumn, in Vienna, the soundest bankers in Europe were spelling out to the United States representatives the elementary lessons of monetary policy. Our support of the UN crimes in Katanga earned us the neutrality of neutrals and the animosity of our friends. Khrushchev buried one-half of Berlin behind a wall built under the eyes of unarmed guards, and we lacked the will to act. The fiscal 1962 budget sagged from the slight surplus forecast by Eisenhower to a deficit approaching $10 billion. The Soviets touched off fifty nuclear explosions. Terrorists entered Angola. Nehru stole Goa and its sister enclaves by armed force. Russia started piping oil to western Europe. Sukarno oiled his weapons for an assault on the Dutch.

Toward the end of his State of the Union message the President said, "We sometimes chafe at the burden of our obligations, the complexity of our decisions, the agony of our choices. . . . It is the fate of this generation . . . to live with a struggle we did not start, in a world we did not make."

To some observers, who have sometimes chafed at the Administration's avoidance of its obligations, at the irrelevance of its decisions, and at the recklessness of its choices, the new-found rhetoric of the President seems tolerably appropriate. It is impossible to say whether it was the press of circumstance or the calculation of political sentiment that has led the President to present himself now as a man laboring under grave demands, cautiously, seriously, in a mood almost fatalistic. The musical accompaniment of the Administration started with the Rat Pack and shifted to Pablo Casals. It may yet move on to the Bay Psalm Book.

Who'll Buy My Violence?

As the first wave approached, Mr. Nehru lost his temper. He raised a clenched right fist and threatened to punch an associate who tried to get him to leave the Congress Party meeting. "Get away!" Mr. Nehru shouted. "Get away or I will hit you!"—*New York Times*

Jawaharlal Nehru today told critics of Defense Minister Krishna Menon to "go to hell."—Reuters

Pandit Nehru, 72,
Used to be a fellow who
Would rather *die* than holler "boo!"

As a youth, he loved to slink
Non-violently to the brink
And languish in a British clink.

(Intimates in Delhi still
Insist the Pandit couldn't kill
A fly upon a windowsill.)

But golly, after Goa got
The business, many wonder what
Mahatma's pupil *wouldn't* swat!

W. H. VON DREELE

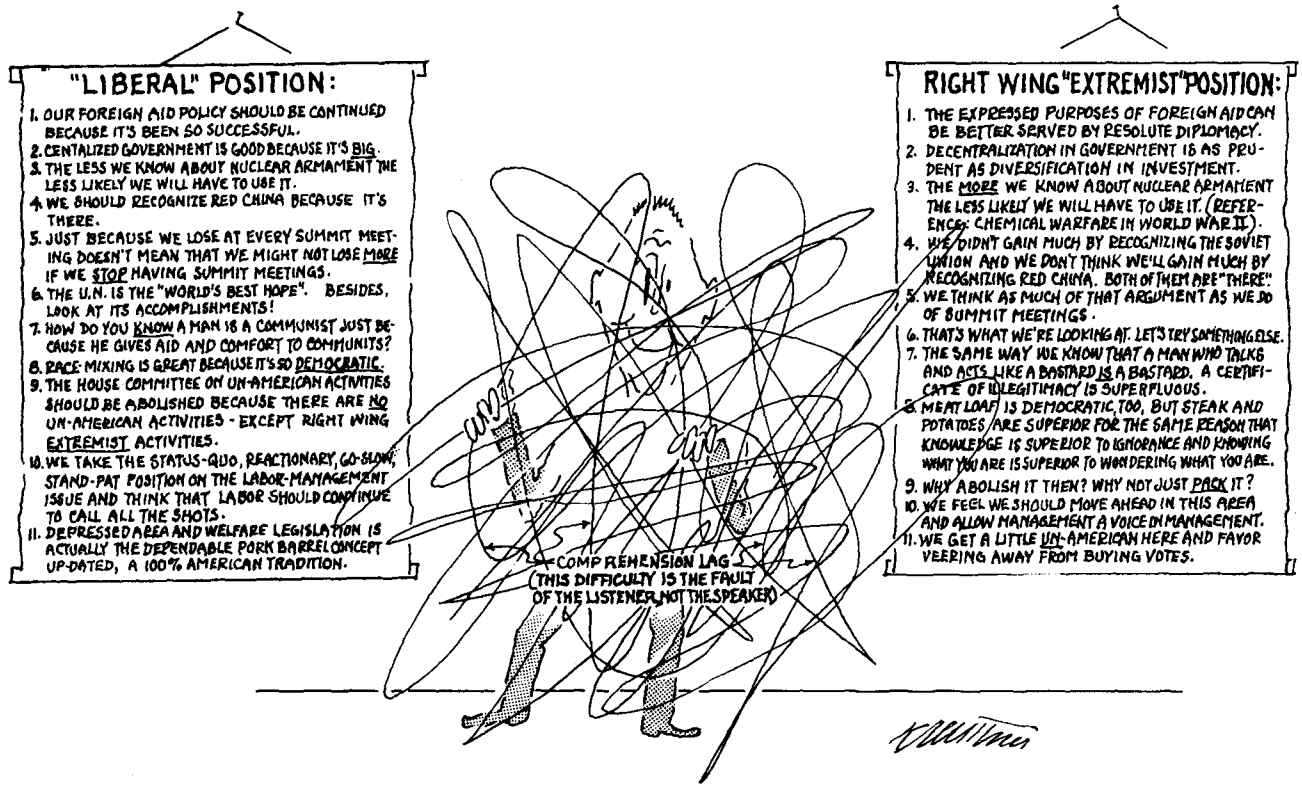
Goldwater and Total Victory

Excerpts from a speech by Senator Barry Goldwater to the Air College at Maxwell Field, Montgomery, Alabama, January 19.

We have done everything but understand how to use our power in a new kind of war. . . . The leaders of the Communist Party not only rule Russia but they are in actual fact the directors of a militant worldwide enterprise, aimed at destroying existing social orders throughout the world in order to make room for the establishment of Communist rule. In this context their allies become chaos and confusion no matter who generates it, be it UN troops in Katanga or Indian troops in Goa. For the Communists Russia has become a power base and an effective instrument for their design, and this is the reason why the interests of the Communist Party always become identified with those of Russia. . . .

We subvert our own cause when we exert military and monetary pressure on pro-Western leaders to make them submit to coalition arrangements with Communists. . . . We are . . . making this mistake in Laos where pressure is being brought on the anti-Communist Prince

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


"LIBERAL" POSITION:
1. OUR FOREIGN AID POLICY SHOULD BE CONTINUED BECAUSE IT'S BEEN SO SUCCESSFUL.
2. CENTALIZED GOVERNMENT IS GOOD BECAUSE IT'S BIG.
3. THE LESS WE KNOW ABOUT NUCLEAR ARMAMENT THE LESS LIKELY WE WILL HAVE TO USE IT.
4. WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE RED CHINA BECAUSE IT'S THERE.
5. JUST BECAUSE WE LOSE AT EVERY SUMMIT MEETING DOESN'T MEAN THAT WE MIGHT NOT LOSE MORE IF WE STOP HAVING SUMMIT MEETINGS.
6. THE U.N. IS THE "WORLD'S BEST HOPE". BESIDES, LOOK AT ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS!
7. HOW DO YOU KNOW A MAN IS A COMMUNIST JUST BECAUSE HE GIVES AID AND COMFORT TO COMMUNISTS?
8. RACE MIXING IS GREAT BECAUSE IT'S SO DEMOCRATIC.
9. THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES SHOULD BE ABOLISHED BECAUSE THERE ARE NO UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES - EXCEPT RIGHT WING EXTREMIST ACTIVITIES.
10. WE TAKE THE STATUS-QUO, REACTIONARY, GO-SLOW, STAND-PAT POSITION ON THE LABOR-MANAGEMENT ISSUE AND THINK THAT LABOR SHOULD CONTINUE TO CALL ALL THE SHOTS.
11. DEPRESSED AREA AND WELFARE LEGISLATION IS ACTUALLY THE DEPENDABLE PORK BARREL CONCEPT UP-DATED, A 100% AMERICAN TRADITION.
RIGHT WING "EXTREMIST" POSITION:
1. THE EXPRESSED PURPOSES OF FOREIGN AID CAN BE BETTER SERVED BY RESOLUTE DIPLOMACY.
2. DECENTRALIZATION IN GOVERNMENT IS AS PRUDENT AS DIVERSIFICATION IN INVESTMENT.
3. THE MORE WE KNOW ABOUT NUCLEAR ARMAMENT THE LESS LIKELY WE WILL HAVE TO USE IT. (REFERENCE: CHEMICAL WARFARE IN WORLD WAR II).
4. WE DIDN'T GAIN MUCH BY RECOGNIZING THE SOVIET UNION AND WE DON'T THINK WE'LL GAIN MUCH BY RECOGNIZING RED CHINA. BOTH OF THEM ARE "THERE".
5. WE THINK AS MUCH OF THAT ARGUMENT AS WE DO OF SUMMIT MEETINGS.
6. THAT'S WHAT WE'RE LOOKING AT. LET'S TRY SOMETHING ELSE.
7. THE SAME WAY WE KNOW THAT A MAN WHO TALKS AND ACTS LIKE A BASTARD IS A BASTARD. A CERTIFICATE OF ILLEGITIMACY IS SUPERFLUOUS.
8. MEAT LOAF IS DEMOCRATIC, TOO, BUT STEAK AND POTATOES ARE SUPERIOR FOR THE SAME REASON THAT KNOWLEDGE IS SUPERIOR TO IGNORANCE AND KNOWING WHAT YOU ARE IS SUPERIOR TO WONDERING WHAT YOU ARE.
9. WHY ABOLISH IT THEN? WHY NOT JUST PACK IT?
10. WE FEEL WE SHOULD MOVE AHEAD IN THIS AREA AND ALLOW MANAGEMENT A VOICE IN MANAGEMENT.
11. WE GET A LITTLE UN-AMERICAN HERE AND FAVOR VEERING AWAY FROM BUYING VOTES.
COMPREHENSION LAG
(THIS DIFFICULTY IS THE FAULT OF THE LISTENER, NOT THE SPEAKER)

"As you can plainly see, the Liberal Position is eminently Sane and the Right Wing Position is ridiculously Crack-Pot. You can also plainly see that Left Wing Extremism just doesn't exist. Am I getting through to you?"

Boun Oum to force him into a coalition with a Communist leader and a pro-Communist "neutral." This amounts to "making book" with the enemy, for such coalitions are at the very best merely way stations on the road to Communist domination. Every time we insist on a coalition government with a Communist and a neutral we automatically set up a two to one situation against freedom. . . .

We would understand that the enemy is just as much an enemy in the Communist government of Yugoslavia as it was some years ago in Korea and as it is today in South Vietnam. We would see the wisdom of halting all aid to Tito and other Communist or semi-Communist regimes. . . .

It is insulting and dangerous for men in influential positions to run around arguing that Communism hasn't gained since 1945 and the West is in fact winning the Cold War. The tragic fact is that during 1961 Communism made its greatest gains since the fall of China.

Operation Under-the-Rug

The State Department was too modest by far in its tribute to the public relations talents of Katanga's Information officer, M. Michel Struelens. When State really decides to put on a PR campaign on its own behalf, it can give twenty pounds and the inside post to Madison Avenue.

Take what it's up to right now in its gilding job on Cyrille Adoula, the Congolese "central government," its own and the UN's Congo policy. Everything is rosy, it seems. M. Adoula, the UN, and the State Department that supports the UN are as even-handed as Jove: smiting the secessionist Tshombe here, and smiting the Communist Gizenga there. With Gizenga immobilized, all danger of Communist penetration has ended. And if there is any more trouble in that serene and happy land, it will be that faithless villain in Elisabethville who'll be responsible, and you just wait to see what we do to him third time out.

Before we swallow quite all of this guff, let us try to remember an item or two from the record that is now being so deftly expunged. As, for example, that Patrice Lumumba left, by his own account and theirs, not one but a number of heirs, and of these one who has duly acknowledged his political lineage is Cyrille Adoula. That Christophe Gbenye, a Communist, is Minister of Interior (that is, of internal security) in Adoula's cabinet, sitting not in far-away Stanleyville but right next door in Léo. That when Adoula emerged as Premier from the Parliament meeting held at Louvanium University surrounded by UN bayonets, he made public announcement that henceforth Congo would be following a "Lumumbist policy, with genuine neutralism." That a few days thereafter (Sept. 3, 1961), Adoula and Gizenga took wing (in a UN plane) to fly to the meeting of the neutralists at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For the Record

Former President Eisenhower, determined that the GOP shall be Modern Republican, had word passed around at Republican National Committee meeting in Oklahoma City last week that Ike liked George (Romney)—who'll be running against Gov. Swainson in Michigan in November. . . . Supporters of conservative California Assembly leader Joseph Shell had predicted weeks ago that former Governor Knight would withdraw from gubernatorial race. They believe Shell now has good chance of getting support of Knight backers, many of whom are more anti-Nixon than anti-Right.

In New York, where Rockefeller controls the GOP, the State Board of the New York Young Republicans last month chose as speaker: Gus Tyler, long-time Socialist youth leader, officer of Dave Dubinsky's ILGWU and Vice President of N.Y. Liberal Party. . . . Sen. Barry Goldwater will spend three days at Yale as prestigious Chubb Fellow, upsetting longtime tradition that only left wingers are Chubb-like. . . . Sen. Tom Dodd putting finishing touches on a book about U.S. foreign policy. It's due off the presses next month.

Behind new Yugoslav-Soviet coziness, a possibility that Tito will make grab for some part of Albanian territory in the spring. . . . The tipoff: if Gen. Clay resigns from his post as Presidential representative in Berlin in next two or three months it will mean a retreat on Berlin. It was to get assurances against this that Clay flew to Washington earlier this month. . . . Introduced in the House, by Rep. Don Short (R., N.D.), a resolution prohibiting purchase by the U.S. of any UN bonds until all UN member nations have paid up delinquent accounts.

Harold Winkler is out as president of Pacifica Foundation, owners of highbrow FM stations in Berkeley (KPFA), Los Angeles (KPFK) and New York (WBAI). New management passing around the word that henceforward Communist Party members will not be put on the air. Will mean quite a change.

Woops: for information on two summer schools to be held in East this June write to Tuller Foundation, Tuller Bldg., Red Bank, N. J. (not Princeton, as reported earlier).

Belgrade, where they clasped hands with Tito and joined the non-objection to the Soviet nuclear tests. That when the UN armies first started shooting up Katanga in September, Adoula sent there, appointed to be "Governor of Katanga" under the Adoula central government, Egide Bocheley-Davidson, a Communist. On that occasion, B-D never got beyond the Elisabethville airport, but there has been no announcement that he has resigned his post, or been fired.

We do not mean to suggest that Cyrille Adoula himself is a Communist. To the best of our knowledge he is and for many years has been an active trade unionist and Socialist, in the left wing, anti-clerical Belgian socialist tradition. Adoula, then, is in all probability not a Communist. But the record gives no reason to think that under his aegis the Communists would have much to worry about.

Passports for Communists

The headlines ran this way: *State Bars Passports for Reds.* The State Department, as a result of the Supreme Court decision of last spring upholding the relevant sections of the McCarran Act, was taking action to prevent Party members from applying for and receiving passports. Hurray for good old State!

But, as usual with good old State, its action calls for careful scrutiny. True, the new regulations mean that if Elizabeth Gurley Flynn or William Patterson or James Jackson—or any other publicly known leader of the Party—applies for a passport, he will be turned down. But what about the thousands of rank and file and underground Communists? The new regulations state explicitly that the issuing officer cannot take into consideration, when acting upon a passport application, any confidential information he has received on the applicant without giving the applicant the right of confrontation with the witness or source.

In practice, this means that, by and large, Communists, though legally not entitled to them, will get their passports. It is doubtful that the FBI and other units charged with keeping tabs on subversives will opt to disclose their source of information and blow their agents within the Communist apparatus in order to prevent a Comrade X from traveling to Moscow for a physical checkup (and a briefing). Most information on Party membership, by the nature of the case, is secured through undercover agents and confidential informants.

In addition, the new regulations set a dangerous precedent which the civil libertarians have been pressing for, for years. They establish the absolute right of confrontation of all witnesses in *non-judicial procedures.* This has been vigorously fought in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Appeal to the People of the United States

On July 11, 1960, the people of Katanga—pained and troubled as they watched the ex-Belgian Congo move down a path leading to ever worse adventures, among them the threatened installation of a Communist regime—declared their autonomy. From that date Katanga lived in peace and prosperity.

The living standard of its inhabitants was being raised, the Africanization of its administrative personnel was proceeding at an accelerating pace, the development of its economic potential was notably progressing. A special effort, welcomed by the entire population, was being made to improve and extend the communications system, which had been neglected by the colonial power.

July 11, 1961, marked another important date in our history, for on that day our people celebrated the first anniversary of their autonomy. It was made the occasion for opening at Elisabethville the first great international fair ever to be held in Central Africa: a symbol of the economic prosperity and social development of our country.

The prospects, as seen that day, seemed happy for the people of Katanga—who were to be plunged suddenly into a state of stupefaction, then horror, by the events of September and December, 1961. On September 13, the forces of the United Nations unleashed on our soil a pitiless war, interrupted by a truce which was never completely respected: a war resumed with even greater brutality on December 5, a war which has generated misery and bitterness.

With unexpected ferocity, incredible in an international force whose mission is to serve peace, the armies of the United Nations attacked Katanga with astonishing violence. They used the most murderous of weapons. They did not spare the civilian population, which became the great victim of this cataclysm for which the Government of the United States of America should perhaps be held even more responsible than the United Nations Organization. In truth, the Katangan people cannot forget that it was American planes that brought reinforcements of arms and matériel to the United Nations forces, and made possible the bombardment of Katanga's capital, now partly destroyed and become a city in a stupor.

But that is already the past. The people of Katanga, like all Africans, are generous. Though they cannot forget, they will not cherish any hatred. They know that the people of America cannot be judged collectively responsible for this disaster. They ask of the people of America only this: to remember that hundreds of families are today without shelter and work; that many have lost one or more members, innocent victims of these insane killings. Thousands of children are no longer receiving instruction because their schools were bombed and are unusable. Even the sick, despite the devotion of the medical corps, are cared for under the most difficult of circumstances, because the hospitals were partly destroyed and their equipment greatly damaged. Finally, the economic potential of Katanga has been hard hit. This means, for the immediate future, a significant reduction in the standard of living of the workers, who cannot return to their jobs, particularly in the mining industries, until the installations have been put back into running order. That will take several months.

The people of Katanga, through my voice, appeal to the American people, who have, in so many other circumstances, shown themselves to be great and generous. My people ask you to come to our aid, both materially and morally.

Materially, by sending the food, the medicines, the supplies which are so urgently needed. Morally, by assuring the people of Katanga of their help in persuading the State Department to put an end to its irrational policy toward Katanga and to understand, at long last, that the people of Katanga, animated by the most noble of ideals, will fight to the end to defend their liberty and their right to dispose of their own fate.

In a spirit of human brotherhood and of cordial sympathy the people of Katanga will be forever grateful.

Jadotville, 7 January, 1962
(Translated from the French by Priscilla Buckley)

MOISE TSHOMBE
PRESIDENT OF KATANGA

past on the obvious ground that it will eviscerate all existing security programs.

To coincide with the new regulations, the State Department also printed up a new passport application form in which the question on Communist Party membership has been omitted. Under the now superseded Supreme Court ruling, in 1958, that the State Department might not refuse to issue passports to Communists, that question was retained on the application, though it was not mandatory to answer it. The new application form—which, under the new Supreme Court decision upholding the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act, could properly include the Communist Party membership question and require an answer thereto—leaves it out altogether.

What it adds up to, surely, is this: a covert Communist can, in effect, not only apply for a passport and get it; he can do so without committing perjury. So much for *State Bars Passports for Reds.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From Washington Straight

CATO

Some insiders are wondering why Drew Pearson chose this particular time to blast CIA chief John McCone in two successive columns. Speculation centers around the possibility that the Left is making a desperate attempt to forestall the appointment of a top-notch anti-Communist to the number two spot in CIA, opened by the resignation of General Cabell. If the campaign to smear McCone yields pay dirt, they could slip one of their own into the key opening to "keep an eye" on the CIA director. Question: Could there be any connection between the Pearson attacks and the return to the United States of U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia, George Kennan. Kennan, the Apostle of Containment, is just the sort of candidate the Stevensonians would like to see at CIA's rudder.

What was the not-for-public-consumption reaction of Congress to the President's State of the Union message? Amazingly uniform. While the Democrats approved its heavy political overtones, they were as unhappy as their Republican colleagues over the trampling of congressional prerogatives, particularly in the sections dealing with income tax. It was the tone of the speech that appalled so many congressmen. With this message, said many, the President gives further proof of his dedication to doctrinaire Liberalism.

That Mr. Kennedy gave no clue in his discussion of foreign policy that he had learned anything from the disasters of the past year, adds up to poor politics. It means this: Congress, as of now, can be expected to make it hard for the President unless he jogs a little further right domestically and hardens considerably his Cold War policy.

Sooner or later, just about every hard anti-Communist in Washington starts pondering the question of mainland China. From both covert and overt sources, they know that China is in bad shape, that the discontent spurred by the great commune experiment and aggravated by a series of crop failures is deep-set. They wonder what would happen if the screws were put on; pressures applied to keep other members of the Western alliance from shipping hundreds of tons of grain to the hard-pressed Mao. But they know — if they've been around Foggy Bottom any amount of time—that things will not change so long as the middle-echelon officers, the Softs, are kept in power.

An example of how these officers operate: in October, a touring group of congressmen visited Hong Kong. The U.S. Consulate there gave them the blue-eagle VIP treatment, including briefings by the acting Chargé and the Consulate's Soviet expert. And this is what they were told: 1) There's no widespread famine in China today, only a few isolated pockets of hunger; 2) There's no hope of an internal revolt on the mainland, that's only "wishful thinking," because the mainland has been divided up into a series of military districts each of which could be cordoned off in the event of revolt (sort of like the *Titanic,* you know, sink-proof) and 3) Even if Chiang Kai-shek did launch an invasion there would be no internal movement of support because—get this—the reforms instituted by the Communists have been popular and the people would not have sufficient incentive to rise against their leaders.

One member of the group reports he left the briefing session feeling "very pessimistic" about the chances of ever seeing China free again. (He had every right to feel that way, but not for the reasons cited.)

Ghana is not the only newly-developing nation Congress should take a hard look at before passing out the grants. A Capitol Hill figure (not Soapy Williams) just back from Mali says its gone about as far Left as it can go—short of flying the hammer and sickle. Czechoslovakia's influence is everywhere apparent and Tito has in recent months, so this source reports, been sending sizable shipments of goods to Mali, much of it diverted from U.S. aid-to-Yugoslavia stocks. Incidentally, Soapy Williams also recently visited Mali with the usual felicitous results. Three days after he left, the government closed down the United States Information Service Office.

What the new Frontier has been least adept at, possibly, is firing people gracefully. Its handling of Chester Bowles, Adlai Stevenson and now Dr. Janet Travell is being dubbed around here "The Technique of the Misplaced Leak."

Several weeks ago there were the usual rumors that President Kennedy's personal physician, Dr. Travell, would resign shortly. Dr. Travell immediately denied the story and for a few days all was quiet.

This is what's behind it. The initial story, it seems, was leaked by White House aides who are unhappy over Dr. Travell. For one thing, Dr. Travell is hopelessly unpolitical. The doctor's reports she writes are not what Pierre Salinger, Ted Sorenson and others consider good medicine. For another, when Dr. Travell gave up her New York practice, sold her home and moved to Washington, she did so on the understanding that she would be permitted to examine the President daily, and this has not met with staff approval. (She has also established herself in private practice in Washington and has, among other patients, been gauche enough to take on Senator Barry Goldwater.) The prospect: a renewed effort to get Dr. Travell out in the next month or so.

For what it's worth, a report is circulating on the Hill that Attorney General Robert Kennedy may resign soon to become a roving trouble-shooter for Big Brother. If so, the likeliest candidate for his job would be Deputy Attorney General Byron White.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Election Prospects in India

The thing to watch out for here is not how many seats the Communists win or lose, it's how much power they exert over the powerful doctrinaire Left Wing of Nehru's Congress Party.

PRAKASH C. JAIN

If anybody is under the impression that as a result of the happenings in Tibet or of the Communist Chinese aggression and occupation of 14,000 square miles of her nothern border territory, India's 210 million voters will elect a solidly anti-Communist or pro-Western government in the February 1962 General Elections, he is in for a sad disillusionment. Indeed, the chances are that the present slow drift towards Communism will not only continue, but may even be accelerated.

Admittedly, at present the Chinese aggression is the hottest issue. The invasion of Goa, with the backwash of world disapproval, was a momentary sensation which only enhanced Nehru's popularity here in India. In the overall spectrum it is less important than the China issue domestically. The Chinese aggression has not damaged the Communist cause seriously because it is seen not as a Communist aggression but purely as a Chinese aggression. Both Mr. Nehru and his Congress Party have chosen to present it that way. And the Indian press has simply toed the line. Mr. Nehru's stock argument has been that whenever China has had a strong and efficient government in the past, it has shown a tendency to expand. More than once, the Indians have been told that if the Chiang Kai-shek government had been strong and efficient enough, it probably would have done the same thing.

As an example, I give an extract from Nehru's speech of December 11, 1961. Commenting on the recent anti-Indian propaganda in Peiping, he said: "What grieves me is that this should come from a country like China which, perhaps more than almost any other country, has had a reputation for hundreds and thousands of years for extreme courtesy, politeness, and for civilized and cultured behavior." Obviously, Mr. Nehru has failed to realize that once a nation accepts Communism, it cuts itself completely adrift from its past culture and traditions.

Minimize the Fact

Not only that, Nehru and his other lieutenants, Krishna Menon prominent among them, have tried their best to minimize the fact of the Chinese aggression. They have described it as a "minor and petty incursion"; dismissed it as a "misbehavior," a "momentary aberration," a regrettable "controversy," or an "aftermath of Tibet," and—all else failing—called the area occupied by the Chinese "barren mountain tops where not a blade of grass grows."

This may have been done with the best of motives, that is, to prevent mass hysteria against China which can only lead to a permanent, indecisive, and suicidal war between the world's two most populous nations. But, it has also led to such smugness and false sense of security that nobody seems to realize that the Chinese, by setting up air and missile bases in Tibet, have brought all the great north Indian industrial centers like Calcutta, Chittranjan, Jamshedpur, Bararas and Delhi within easy bombing range. Unfortunately, India cannot even retaliate, because the Chinese industrial centers remain thousands of miles away from India.

Again, incredibly enough, the recent fight between Russia and China seems greatly to have helped the Communist cause in India. Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin and his talk about coexistence have created an impression that Russia is for peace and can be persuaded to take India's part against China, or, at least, restrain China from launching a major operation against India. This has made Soviet Russia the best loved foreign country in India. (Indeed, an opinion survey conducted by the Indian Institute of Public Opinion—affiliated with the Gallup Poll—revealed that 82.4 per cent of the people like Russia—one-fourth of them like it immensely.)

I give the above background to show that despite recent events the Communist Party is still a big force in India. Certainly, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, late Secretary-General of the Indian Communist Party, was not lying when he told its Vijayawada conference (April 1961): "Our Party, despite its many shortcomings, has attained a big position in our country. . . . Perhaps the biggest development in Indian politics since the achievement of freedom is the emergence of the Communist Party as the second Party of the country. Even our enemies have to recognize this."

Darling of the Masses

However, this does not mean that the Communist Party will make a serious dent in the forthcoming elections. In 1957, they won only 9 per cent of the total votes, only 27 seats in the Union Parliament, and only 162 seats in the state legislatures. They will be lucky to maintain this number. But what it means is that there is no serious disillusionment with Mr. Nehru's pro-Communist policies and way of dealing with things. Jawaharlal Nehru continues to be the darling of the masses, and a million people even today chant "Victory to Nehru" (*Nehru-ki-Jai*), wherever he goes. This adulation was increased not lessened, by the annexation of Goa.

Accordingly, Nehru's Congress

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Party is likely to be returned to power in the Union Parliament and in most of the states, albeit with somewhat reduced majorities. (The Congress Party at present holds 371 seats out of the 496 seats in the Union Parliament and 1,889 seats out of 2,901 in the state assemblies. It will lose perhaps 10 or 15 per cent of them, but that will not at all affect its dominant position.)

Viewed superficially, the victory of the Congress Party does not look like a calamity. After all, it has been in power since 1947, when India got its independence. But the big question is: What will be the composition or ideology of the Congress Party after it emerges from the elections?

To answer this, we have to go briefly into the history of the party. During the days of British dominion, Congress was not a party at all but a hotch-potch organization of such conflicting elements as peasants, landlords, socialists, capitalists, businessmen, and even a few Maharajahs. It remained united partly because of the overwhelming personality of Mahatma Gandhi and partly because all these diverse elements were agreed on the goal of independence from Britain.

But now that it has been functioning as a political party, for fifteen years, the diverse forces have grouped themselves into a left wing and a right wing. The left wing, led by Nehru, has been in power all along and has been able to impose on Congress a socialist ideology and a socialist economic program. The right wing —partly because most of its leaders have died, and partly because it has not been able to evolve a distinct ideology of its own—is now on the way out.

Misguided Faith

Almost surreptitiously, the Congress Party, under Nehru's tutelage, has become largely a leftist organization. The Indian press has made no attempt to inform the general masses of this development, and the people continue to pour all their affection on this party in the faith that it is the same organization which functioned under Mahatma Gandhi and which brought freedom to the country.

Nonetheless, a few rightists like Finance Minister Morarji Desai, in the capital; or Mr. C. B. Gupta, in Uttar Pradesh, remain and exercise at least some restraining influence on such wayward left-wing programs as imposition of compulsory cooperative farming or state control of trade in foodgrains.

The Communist Party has assessed this situation realistically. Therefore, its main strategy in the upcoming elections is to trip the rightist candidates wherever possible, in the hope that in the long run it will be able to capture the Congress organization itself.

This it is doing in two ways:

First, it is unofficially having its own members and sympathizers join the Congress Party in order to support the nomination of pro-Communist and progressive candidates in the forthcoming elections.

Second, it has decided to put up opposing candidates only against members of the Congress Party's right wing and to support actively the candidates of the Left. For example, the Communist Party has not only refrained from putting up any candidate against pro-Communist Defense Minister Krishna Menon in his North Bombay contest against anti-Communist Acharya J. B. Kripalani, but the entire Communist *apparat* and Communist press is going whole hog in support of Mr. Menon.

Indirect Results

There are, of course, three other nationally-recognized parties in the election: the newly-formed anti-Communist Swatantra (Freedom) Party, the Hindu Jan Sangh (People's Party), and the Praja Socialist Party. Each one of them is likely to make some headway—mostly at the expense of the Congress Party, but partly due to lack of resources, and partly due to lack of imaginative leadership, none is likely to win even the minimum 50 seats required to gain official recognition as an Opposition Party in the Union Parliament.

What all this adds up to is that there is at least a 50 per cent chance that while the Communist Party of India may even lose some seats in the coming elections, it will indirectly win far greater influence in the next Indian Parliament—and may virtually get into the driver's seat.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Do-It-Yourself Conservatism?

A heated debate over the geneology of modern American Conservatism with Prof. Auerbach *vs.* Stanton Evans, Frank S. Meyer, Russell Kirk

M. MORTON AUERBACH

Anyone who has tried to apply the term "conservative" to more than one period of history knows that the word is extremely flexible. In its original eighteenth-century European usage, "conservative" referred to an opponent of the French Revolution. The tradition against which the Revolution was directed was the heritage of the Middle Ages. Therefore, a conservative was at that time one who defended medieval values against the "liberals" who supported the principles of revolutionary France. Among other things, the conservative medievalist believed in the supreme importance of 1) a cohesive, organic community; 2) a code of "natural law" and religious orthodoxy which emphasizes moral obligations and duties; 3) a sharply graded system of social status which teaches each to stay in his "allotted place" in society; 4) a citizenry which demands no more of the community than what custom assigns to one's social position; and 5) leadership at the top by a leisured aristocracy. The liberal revolutionaries denied the primacy of every one of these concepts. Their ideology favored 1) the individual instead of the community; 2) a moral code which began with "natural rights" and freedoms instead of duties; 3) a society based on open competition instead of social status; 4) a citizenry which expects reward according to individual ability instead of custom; and 5) leadership by the middle class. These premises led liberals to conclude that a good society should have free enterprise, civil liberties, and limited government.

For twentieth-century Americans the terms "conservative" and "liberal" have acquired not only different meanings but self-contradictory ones. NATIONAL REVIEW now calls someone a Liberal if he favors the administrative or the welfare state, regardless of whether he does so for socialist reasons, for authoritarian reasons, or for reasons which are still liberal in the original sense of the word. On the other hand, we usually use the word "conservative" to mean one who wants government to leave private enterprise alone. In other words, what was once liberalism has now become conservatism. To increase the confusion, a number of intellectuals (who are called the "new conservatives") have been trying recently to link American conservatism to Edmund Burke, the classic spokesman for the original medieval form of conservatism. Consequently, the term "conservatism" is now being used to mean opposition to the administrative state, regardless of whether the opposition results from classical liberal or from medieval premises. Thus, Barry Goldwater, obviously a conservative of the classical liberal variety, cites Russell Kirk as his favorite theoretician, in spite of the fact that Kirk is an avowed Burkean who deplores the passing of aristocracy. Frederick Wilhelmsen, whose favorite period of history seems to lie somewhere in the Middle Ages, appears alongside William Buckley, whose preference would almost certainly be for one or more of the liberal centuries. And Russell Kirk, who has charged Buckley with erroneous defense of individualism, continues to be a favorite of Buckley's NATIONAL REVIEW.

Study in Evasion?

The fallacious attempt to link medievalism with classical liberalism goes back to Burke himself who, unlike Continental conservatives of the eighteenth century, wanted to defend a version of medievalism which was tempered by a considerable amount of liberalism. Some months ago, in a book entitled *The Conservative Illusion,* I discussed the many contradictions to which Burke was forced because of his insistence on keeping both medievalism and liberalism in a single political theory. I also demonstrated that Burke's followers (the "new conservatives") have simply built new contradictions on his old ones, without ever having resolved the original problem.

The Conservative Illusion dealt exclusively with the predominantly medieval, Burkean type of conservatism and *not at all* with the primarily liberal type of conservatism to be found in NATIONAL REVIEW. The response of NATIONAL REVIEW [M. Stanton Evans' review, Jan. 30, 1960] provided a fascinating study in evasion. First it charged that my analysis of Burke was a "verbal agony," the charge apparently resting on the premise that if I found any contradictions in Burke, it must be my fault, not his. Then it dismissed the rest of the book on the grounds that it was not directed at "authentic" conservatism. "Authentic" conservatism turned out to be primarily the classical liberalism of James Madison, which was simply not the subject of the book. But the list of authentics simultaneously included Burkeans and others whose first premises are medieval. Thus the review concluded with precisely the fallacy which it found so inconceivable in my analysis of Burke.

Consider the position of William Buckley. Even from a casual reading of his books, one can see that his major premises rest primarily on the desire to maximize individual freedom and competition. Like most American conservatives, Buckley is interested first in increasing economic freedom by diminishing the economic role of government. But a preponderance of both educators and voters have been willing to maintain and probably increase government participation in economics. Therefore, to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

allow intellectual and political freedom under present conditions is to allow increasing restrictions on economic freedom. Conversely, one who would affirm this last freedom must restrict the first two. One of Buckley's major arguments against what he calls "Liberals" is that in choosing to follow intellectual freedom and political democracy wherever they may lead, the "Liberals" have been destroying economic freedom, thus being guilty of a major inconsistency. But if this is wrong, then why is it valid for Buckley simply to turn the fallacy upside down? If freedom is the supreme value, then isn't the diminution of any freedom wrong, whether economic, intellectual, or political?

It follows that Buckley would have a much more difficult time justifying all of his positions if he had to do so with the same premise, namely, the need to maximize individual freedom. It is much easier simply to tailor the argument to the occasion. Thus, when he wants a clear statement of the limits on legitimate government intervention in private affairs he turns to an early formulation of John Stuart Mill or some classical liberal formulation. But when he wants to argue for intellectual conformity to "tradition," Buckley suddenly begins quoting from Edmund Burke; conveniently glossing over the fact that he uses "tradition" to mean specifically the classical liberal tradition, while Burke uses the word to mean primarily the medieval tradition. Indeed, Burkean arguments are always handy when Buckley needs to avoid embarrassing responsibility to the concept of freedom, even though he never uses Burke's terminology in its original meaning. Could this be why it has become so important for NATIONAL REVIEW to maintain an imaginary escape tunnel connecting Burke with James Madison, *i.e.*, joining medievalism and classical liberalism? Will conservatism continue to offer nothing more than an array of mutually exclusive "principles" from which all are invited to pick what suits them? Is this the age of do-it-yourself conservatism?

Memo to: STAN EVANS, RUSSELL KIRK, FRANK MEYER: ALL RIGHT, GANG, ONE AT A TIME . . . WFB

Techniques and Circumstances

M. STANTON EVANS

Mr. Auerbach's problem, I think, is twofold: First, he obviously does identify his subject with "medievalism," repeatedly defining conservatism as the amalgam of convictions, techniques and moods which marked the politics of an aristocratic past. He fails to determine which elements in that amalgam are essential points of philosophy, and which are technical or stylistic epiphenomena characterizing it at a particular point in time. Thus, in his present list of conservative beliefs, he makes no apparent distinction between "a code of natural law" and "leadership at the top of a leisured aristocracy." He ignores the truism that while principles are by definition constant, the technique by which they can be vindicated may alter from age—*e.g.*, when understanding is improved by experience or new information (as Hamilton suggested in Federalist No. 9), or when circumstances have become changed so radically that former techniques are no longer effective (as when Liberalism, not conservatism, has become the *status quo*).

Second, having failed to isolate the essentials of conservative philosophy, Auerbach inevitably fails to demonstrate any system of relations between that philosophy and the form of our political institutions. He therefore fails to demonstrate a necessary disjunction between conservative principles and political liberty, and thus to prove his asserted "inconsistency" on the part of libertarian conservatives.

If we view conservatism as a philosophy, rather than as an immutable catalogue of tastes and foibles, I think we can attribute to it certain primary and constant affirmations. The conservative believes ours is a God-centered, and therefore an ordered, universe; that man's purpose is to shape his life to the patterns of order proceeding from the Divine center of life; and that, in seeking this objective, man is hampered by a fallible intellect and vagrant will.

The Vital Equilibrium

Properly construed, this view of things is not only compatible with a due regard for human freedom, but demands it. The conservative's first concern is that man restrain his appetites by the imperatives of right choice—choice which can take place only in circumstances favoring volition. Moreover, the reign of appetite is most destructive, and the incentives and opportunities for its exercise most plentiful, when fallible man is endowed with unlimited power over his fellow beings. If man is corrupted in mind and impulse, he is hardly to be trusted with the unbridled potencies of the state. For both reasons, the limitation of government power becomes the highest *political* objective of conservatism.

That conservative views on the nature of man are commensurable with political liberty is demonstrated by the American Constitution. Mr. Auerbach's flinging about of the phrase "classical liberalism" cannot alter the fact that the Constitution, premised upon a deep mistrust of human nature and designed to curb its excesses, is a profoundly conservative document. A canvas of the debates in convention, and of the commentaries of Madison, reveals our Constitution-makers anxious to maintain freedom by counterpoising ambitions and placing countless impediments in the way of change; and to a large extent, their work was successful. What Mr. Auerbach calls an "inconsistency" is in fact the vital equilibrium, centered in the wisdom of conservatism, of the free society.

By protesting that these are not the sort of people about whom he was writing, Mr. Auerbach destroys his original effort to prove conservatism an "illusion" incapable of practical results. Indeed, if he confesses that he excludes the conservative movement as it now exists in the United States, it becomes apparent that it is Mr. Auerbach's book, and not conservatism, which is irrelevant to reality.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Separation of Powers

FRANK S. MEYER

In his reply to Stanton Evans' review of *The Conservative Illusion,* Professor Auerbach restates more succinctly the central contentions of the book itself: 1) that a belief in transcendental truth is incompatible with a belief in individual human freedom, and 2) that therefore the rapidly growing American conservatism of today is an intellectual monstrosity rent by contradictions.

What Professor Auerbach fails to understand is that the Christian understanding of the nature and destiny of man, which is the foundation of Western civilization, is always and everywhere what conservatives strive to conserve. That understanding accepts the existence of absolute truth and good and at the same time recognizes that men are created with the free will to accept or reject that truth and good. Conservatism, therefore, demands both the struggle to vindicate truth and good and the establishment of conditions in which the free will of individual persons can be effectively exercised.

Two Evils

Conservatism sees two overriding evils in society. On the one hand, it fights against determinist philosophies, which equate truth and good with whatever happens historically to succeed, and against relativist philosophies, which deny the very existence of truth and good. On the other hand, it resists the growth of a monopoly of power, usually exercised through the state, which suppresses or distorts the exercise of free will by individual persons. It believes, further, that such a monopoly of force can be as thoroughly and evilly exercised by a "democratic" majority as by an "aristocratic" minority or by a single tyrant.

Professor Auerbach is right when he says that conservatives oppose the contemporary aggrandizement of the state and its movement towards totalitarianism (what he so gently characterizes as "the administrative state"), for the aggrandizing state is the enemy of the freedom of the person. He is wrong when he regards such opposition as incompatible with "medieval" belief in "natural law and religious orthodoxy." Indeed, the Middle Ages maintained a separation of powers both through the geographically decentralized institutions of feudalism and through the balance of powers between church and state. That separation of powers placed feudal Europe, as Professor Wittfogel has demonstrated in his *Oriental Despotism,* among the freest societies in the history of man.

Truth and Freedom

American conservatives do not wish to return to medieval conditions. They do wish, in modern conditions, to preserve and develop the tension between the transcendent ends of man and the freedom through which he can attain those ends, the tension which Western civilization has always expressed. They will not be diverted from pursuing that course by semantic or historicist arguments based upon the struggles between nineteenth-century conservatives and nineteenth-century liberals. The nineteenth century, heir to the disruption of the French Revolution, was a brief and distorted era in the long history of Western civilization. In its struggles there was truth on both sides, and from both sides the contemporary American conservative can learn. But it is the authentic tradition of the West which he is striving to recover, a tradition which goes far deeper than the parochial disputes of the nineteenth century.

The American conservative has indeed a special heritage, the discussions and the achievements of the Founders of the American Constitution (Madison pre-eminently), men who established the highest political form the West has yet created to express the tension of transcendent truth and human freedom. The political structure they left us has its contradictions, no doubt; but, like the contradictions Professor Auerbach finds among American conservatives today, they reflect the imperfect state of man and the tension within which he must live if he is to be true to his nature, striving towards transcendent ends in freedom.

Conservatism Is Not an Ideology

RUSSELL KIRK

Mr. Auerbach's fundamental difficulties are two:

1) He thinks of political preferences as rigid categories, or compartments, made up of abstractions relentlessly adhered to, regardless of altered circumstances: in short, he confounds political theory with ideology. Since conservatism never was an ideology, he is all adrift.

Edmund Burke

2) He thinks of political ideas as somehow bound to neat historical periods—"medieval," "nineteenth century," and the like. In truth, great political ideas transcend particular institutions and periods. The reflecting conservative adheres not to some idealized historical era, but to what Dr. Leo Strauss calls "the Great Tradition."

This confusion leads Mr. Auerbach into his errors about Burke. What Burke championed was not "medievalism," but the Great Tradition. He was defending the politics of Cicero, the moral system of Christianity, and the civil social order which had de-

(Continued on p. 74)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Third World War

No Friends Allowed

JAMES BURNHAM

I have traced our inability to take the initiative against the Left to, a) an unwillingness to face the fact that we are at war, and b) the predominance of "the Afro-Asian Strategy." That designation derives from a geopolitical perspective, and I use it to mark the contrast with "the Western Strategy." The Afro-Asian Strategy is oriented on the less developed regions of the world—Africa and Asia especially, but also Latin America—and on the "neutralist" governments within those regions. From an institutional point of view, the Afro-Asian Strategy is more or less equivalent to a "United Nations Strategy," since the UN is the arena in which the underdeveloped mass is symbolically encountered.

By no means all the governments of these less developed regions are "neutralist" (or "uncommitted"). The governments of Vietnam, Free China, the Philippines are not. They are on our side. So are the governments of South Africa and the Rhodesian Federation, Iran (by and large), Nicaragua, Guatemala, Peru. It has not been generally remarked in this country, because so little publicized, that a number of the new native African states—among them Gabon, Congo (Brazzaville), Chad, Malagasy, and probably Ivory Coast—have been pro-Katanga, anti-Communist and in the broad sense pro-Western, in relation to the UN's Congo campaign; that is, have been less "neutralist" than the United States.

In practice, our Afro-Asian (United Nations) Strategy, as interpreted by the Stevenson-Soapy Williams-Bowles-Harlan Cleveland-Walt Rostow clique, narrows down the definition of "neutralist" to mean a government short of outright Soviet bloc integration, but anti-Western as a minimum, often pro-Soviet: such governments as are illustrated by India, Indonesia, Ghana, Yugoslavia, UAR, Ceylon, even Castro's Cuba (still classified as "uncommitted" by the *New York Times,* leading journalistic exponent of the Afro-Asian-UN Strategy). Other governments of the underdeveloped regions are considered either "reactionary" (Nicaragua, Rhodesia, Vietnam, Dominican Republic under the Trujillos, South Africa) or "Western bloc." A government cannot acquire "status" as a blueblooded neutralist unless it can show anti-Western credentials. And the more anti-Western in rhetoric and deed (short of full absorption into the Soviet sphere), the loftier its place in neutralist society.

Plotting the Line

We are now in a position to plot still more precisely the Stevenson-Cleveland-Rostow line. It is primarily oriented not on the "underdeveloped region" as a whole, nor even on the new or "emerging" nations there, but on the "neutralist" governments, with "neutralist" understood to entail one or another degree of anti-Westernism. Our foreign policy, most of the time, is based on the objective of pleasing, seducing, finding favor with, getting the UN votes of, neutralists of this type.

It sounds paradoxical. Our objective is to please anti-Westerners. How can we do that? *Only if we ourselves behave in an anti-Western fashion.* That is the solution of the seeming paradox. We can pursue the Afro-Asian-UN Strategy only by deviating from the Western Strategy. This fact of strategic geometry gets openly displayed during the increasingly frequent incidents in which we find ourselves lined up with the neutralists (plus, often, the Soviet bloc itself) against nations of the West.

Nkrumah has little trouble getting $133 million for his dam. He is a "genuine" (*i.e.*, anti-Western) neutralist. Nehru doesn't have to bother about a strict accounting for his billions, and for the food that feeds twenty million of his subjects. His neutralism is validated by his seizure of Goa. And when Tito justifies Moscow's test resumption, he naturally is entitled to another draft for $200 million or so.

But the Malagasy Republic (a rather substantial country, with a considerable potential), or Congo (Brazzaville), or Nicaragua; though not wholly forgotten at the banquet, they must sit at the foot of the table and take the leavings. For they are—though one doesn't like to mention this sort of thing in public—*friendly to the West!* Vietnam's poor President Diem has practically got to abdicate before we will allow him to fight the Communist guerrillas. (We won't allow Chiang to, no matter *what* he promises.) As for the South Africas, Trujillo Dominicas, Rhodesias, and that kind of trash, they can stay across the tracks where they belong.

This oddly inverted discrimination —against friends—has not escaped the notice of the "uncommitted" leaders. But the strategic logic does not end there. Under the Stevenson-Cleveland-Rostow hegemony we have now begun to *force* governments to be "genuinely neutralist" even if they desperately want to be pro-Western. Does this sound crazy? It is crazy, but it's true. This is exactly what we are doing in the Congo and in Laos, and in the Dominican Republic, too, for that matter.

Riding the Troika

Tshombe and Boun Oum want to be pro-Western and anti-Communist. This we will not permit; it is bad manners in underdeveloped regions. They *must* be "genuinely neutralist," and to make sure, we send the UN to shoot up one of them, and turn financial screws on the other. If they will yoke themselves up with a Communist and a leftward-leaning centrist, then they can have our blessing (and dollars).

Adlai Stevenson imagines that this enforced neutralism is a way of "keeping the Cold War out." Khrushchev knows that it is a fine way to bring the Cold War *in,* and on his terms. It's really most flattering to Khrushchev, our adoption of his *troika* principle. A troika, it's worth remembering, means a three-horsed vehicle hitched up for a Russian driver. That's why Khrushchev is so strong for troikas.

(Continued on p. 73)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

The Silence of Max Picard

High above Lugano, in a village of the Ticino, lives a little old wise man, Max Picard. Like the sage in every era, he has withdrawn himself, so far as possible, from the vanities and diversions of his time. He is a hard hater of noise and an ardent lover of silence: they never will love where they ought to love, says Burke, who do not hate where they ought to hate.

Kirk

But noise, with a diabolical power, has followed Picard up from modernity, even to his little Alpine chalet. For the automobile, that mechanical Jacobin, now pants its way up the wooded slopes of the mountains; and trucks shift gears as they round the bends of the road across the valley, their squeal and screech and grate echoing brutally to Max Picard's terrace. As Picard writes, modern noise is bent upon the utter conquest of silence in all its forms—the silence which has nurtured human dignity, and even the silence of God.

Time of Decadence

As a counter-blow in this struggle, then, it is good to find one of Picard's moving books now available as a paperback: *The World of Silence* (Gateway Editions, $1.45). Though Picard is the most readable of modern philosophers, his other little books either are out of print in this country, or never were available here: *The Flight from God, Hitler in Ourselves, The Atomization of Art.* But in a time of decadence—and, as C. E. M. Joad says, decadence is the loss of an object—to be neglected by the appetite-driven crowd is one of the marks of virtue.

As eulogist of silent dignity, Picard admires old Spain. In his chapter "History and Silence," he writes:

> There are nations that seem to slumber in silence for long centuries: such are the Spaniards during the last three hundred years. The silence in which they live is not an emptiness, nor is it a symptom of sterility. It is rather a sign of the importance and value of silence for the Spaniards. Spain has been considered backward and old-fashioned because it did not join in the universal noise and mobility of the modern age by industrializing its economy. But Spain is no more backward than a child that wants to stay with its mother, or that comes back to its mother, and to silence.

It is well for Picard, no doubt, that he—who rarely travels—has not visited Spain in recent years. For Zurich, a city which Picard despises as the apotheosis of modern avarice and innovation, is quiet and restrained in comparison with modern Madrid, where the blare of radios with their flamenco or pseudo-flamenco wails, the blast of motorcycle exhausts, and all the din of a modern proletarian cosmopolis have tortured silence to death. Even Toledo, once famous for its almost deathly stillness, now is a place where one has difficulty sleeping o' nights: the nocturnal Spaniard, given electric lights and mechanical noise-makers, goes at the destruction of silence more enthusiastically than the Swiss.

Once I lunched in the hills of Mallorca, at an inn set upon the lip of a gorge. On the ridge opposite our windows I saw a big monastic-like building in the mist, and I asked my friend what it was. "Oh, that's the headquarters of the Spanish League of Silence," my friend told me. "Many Spaniards gather there and talk at great length about the virtues of silence."

At this moment, there burst into the inn a tall, well-dressed man who sat himself down and cried to the landlord in Spanish, "Do you have a radio here? I don't have one at my place." Indeed there was a radio, which the gentleman turned on, full blast.

"That gentleman is the head of the Spanish League of Silence," my friends informed me. Presently he was joined by two colleagues, and the trio, ordering lunch, proceeded to talk at the top of their lungs, vociferously, about the wonders of silence. "Silence! That's what we need in Spain! More silence, more silence!"

As so frequently in Latin lands, their conversation soon turned to politics. In Palma lives my friend Cela, who—with Gironella—is one of the two principal living Spanish men of letters. The members of the League of Silence did not like Cela. "That Cela! He pretends to be against the regime, but he fought for Franco last time, and when the test comes, he'll be on that side again. But then it will be *our* turn: and bam-bam-bam-bam-bam-bam!" (They imitated the rattle of a machine-gun.) Don Quixote does forever ride a dusty road in Castile; yet now, as then, he is one of a forlorn and proscribed minority.

Mark of the Beast

Well, Picard retains one humble disciple: for here at little Mecosta, where in my study I write this note, silence maintains a guerrilla action. A man unmachined, I have but one noise-maker, a Swiss music-box of 1890 which an old man carried to the Alaskan gold-rush to lull himself to sleep in the wilderness. Radio and television are to me as the mark of the beast, for I hold with Picard:

> Radio has occupied the whole space of silence. There is no silence any longer. Even when the radio is turned off, the radio-noise still seems to go on inaudibly. Radio-noise is so amorphous that it seems to have no beginning and no end; it is limitless. And the type of man formed by the constant influence of this noise is the same: formless, undecided inwardly and externally, with no definite limits and no standards.

Nature takes her vengeance upon her violators: so it seems altogether possible that modernity, after obliterating noble silence, may find itself self-condemned to one vast ear-splitting explosion, and then the silence, universal and irrevocable, of death.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Two Poems

JOHN HEATH-STUBBS

Not Being Oedipus

Not being Oedipus he did not question the Sphinx
Nor allow it to question him. He thought it expedient
To make friends and try to influence it.
In this he entirely succeeded.

And continued his journey to Thebes. The abominable thing
Now tame as a kitten (though he was not unaware
That its destructive claws were merely sheathed)
Lolloped along beside him

To the consternation of the Reception Committee.
It posed a nice problem: he had certainly overcome
But not destroyed the creature—was he or was he not
Entitled to the hand of the Princess

Dowager Jocasta? Not being Oedipus
He saw it as a problem too. For frankly he was not
By natural instinct at all attracted to her.
The question was soon solved—

Solved itself, you might say; for while they argued
The hungry Sphinx, which had not been fed all day,
Sneaked off unobserved, penetrated the royal apartments,
And softly consumed the lady.

So he ascended the important throne of Cadmus,
Beginning a distinguished and uneventful reign.
Celibate, he had nothing to fear from ambitious sons;
Although he was lonely at nights,

With only the Sphinx, curled up upon his eiderdown.
Its body exuded a sort of unearthly warmth
(though in fact cold-blooded) but its capacity
For affection was strictly limited.

Granted, after his death it was inconsolable,
And froze into its own stone effigy
Upon his tomb. But this was self-love, really—
It felt it had failed in its mission.

While Thebes, by *common consent* of the people, adopted
His extremely liberal and reasonable constitution,
Which should have enshrined his name—but not being Oedipus,
It vanished from history, as from legend.

On Reading an Anthology of Japanese Poetry

"Rather old monastic query pond
Hopfrog jumpskip in
Splishersplosher."

—And it was either the frogs or probably the insects
(A lineage more antique) perfected
And taught the Japanese this art of *haiku*.

Grasshoppers, metallic beetles, dragon-flies, mantises—
Do they not continually meditate and exchange
Among themselves little poems like this?

"Petal to twig recurs—
Correction—butterfly."

In Japan highest world-incidence of myopia
(Their vile script and vitamin-deficiency);
Nowadays they are all goggle-eyed with glasses
Which, combined with their buck-teeth,
Reinforces the insect connotation.

A chain of unproductive overpopulated
Inclement islands. A religion
Forbidding the taking of life
(Economy largely based on fisheries)
Forbidding violence
(A history of feuding samurai).

And if to a man hanging by his teeth
One inquires "What is Zen . . .?"

The moment of absolute intuition,
Contemplation of snow-flurries and plum-blossoms,
Has not made them noticeably more moral:
Nor us our morality.

"Fresh grasses of summer—
Relic of heroic dreams?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Monarchs of All They Survey

MICHAEL J. BERNSTEIN

In 1935 the Wagner Act established a national labor relations policy explicitly designed to encourage collective bargaining and facilitate union growth. Hailed as labor's "Magna Carta" by New Deal politicians, union leaders, and Liberals generally, its basic provisions are still the law, essentially unmodified by amendments made in the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts.

Despite a quarter of a century of this legislation, there still exists the widespread misconception that it specifically created rights for unions as such, an error which has been perpetuated by the manner in which the law has been applied. The National Labor Relations Board has quietly ignored the plain language of the statute, which merely establishes a number of concrete rights for employees but contains not a single word about the rights of unions. What was intended to protect the individual's right of *freedom of association,* has been transformed into something quite different—a guarantee of a collective right of freedom for *certain associations.* The tragic consequences of this distortion are described in *Check-Off.*

Today, the iron law of oligarchy reigns unchecked in the American labor movement, and the gap between union leadership and union membership continues to widen. Labor chieftains, of course, still strive for higher wages and better terms and conditions of employment, but their bargaining activities place increasing, often primary, emphasis on demands designed to strengthen the organization. Most assiduously pursued are contract provisions requiring membership in the union as a condition of employment and the check-off of union dues, while the individual member becomes a faceless and manipulable statistic to be contemptuously kept in line by a skillful application of the carrot and the club.

Check-Off: Labor Bosses and Working Men, by Jameson G. Campaigne. Regnery, $4.95

For this operation to be successful, its real nature must be hidden from the public. It is precisely the latter's natural sympathy for the "underdog" which constitutes both a danger to the success of the operation and an opportunity to exploit it effectively. Labor has developed a *mystique* which proclaims that workers are weak and oppressed, that only unions can protect them against injustice because unions are the supremely democratic organizations of their own choosing. This is the staple of union publicity, disseminated through every channel of communication and omnipresent as the implicit premise of every union legislative proposal.

Check-Off describes how effective this propaganda has been. Public apathy toward union violence, corruption, and nakedly discriminatory political activity is widespread. There is little popular indignation at what Mr. Campaigne calls labor's private code—its refusal to obey laws which it condemns. Sporadically, the electorate is aroused, as it was during the McClellan Committee's hearings on union racketeering. But so great is labor's political power that it can and does cripple what was intended as effective remedial legislation.

Nevertheless, labor's *mystique,* the concept of the wage-worker as the victim of oppression, is not, despite the extent to which it has been abused, wholly mythological. If the condition of labor has improved, unions have contributed, even though the spectacular advances which have been achieved would have been impossible without the tremendous burgeoning of our productive powers. And beyond this improvement in economic status, unions have, to a degree, affirmed the dignity of the worker as a person. They not only exercise a restraining influence on employers, but, when functioning legitimately, they help to diminish the unbearable loneliness and helplessness engendered in a world dominated by impersonal forces too powerful for the individual wage-worker to confront alone.

The tragedy, however, is that the modest dignity which he has attained is threatened by the oligarchic forces which rule organized labor. The powerlessness, now somewhat diminished, with which the individual employee once faced the employer has been supplemented by his weakness *vis-à-vis* his own organizational leaders. Mr. Campaigne is one of the few writers in this field who feels genuine compassion for these victims of injustice: *"The rulers of the trusts based their power frankly upon money and property. Their belief that people were a commodity was only a part of their ideology. But the rulers of labor base their power directly and primarily upon their ability to dispose of great masses of human beings as if they were chattels. The people they rule are not able to vote the rulers in or out of power. They cannot control the decisions which determine their own destinies. They cannot maintain their self-respect, and they are falling prey to a sense of outrage and cynicism. Can nothing be done to aid them?"*

As a remedy, Mr. Campaigne urges legislation to outlaw compulsory union membership and the check-off. This reviewer agrees that such measures are desirable. But are they suf-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ficient? Isn't it equally essential to limit the union leaders' absolute authority to determine their own membership, which, coupled with their statutory right to bargain exclusively for *all* employees in the unit, confers on labor unions a power hitherto characteristic of sovereignty alone? And finally, perhaps most important of all, where shall we find the men and women who will administer the law faithfully and impartially, and who will be motivated solely by a desire for justice?

'Enlightened' Error

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

IN THE PAGES of most school history books we (and the innocent young) are still shown a steady march of human progress, and invited to applaud as society becomes ever more rational, scientific, democratic and Liberal. A high point in this glad story is generally the French Revolution (in spite of some regrettable excesses accompanying it) and the Age of Enlightenment, which finally brought mankind out of medieval darkness into the sunny uplands of the modern world. That age deserves our applause, for during it most of our favorite ideas were born or at least disseminated. In a series of lectures, now supplemented and published as *The Brave New World of the Enlightenment,* Mr. Louis T. Bredvold discusses the philosophers and theories of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe and considers their lasting influence. But he begins by warning his audience that he does not propose to join the familiar chorus of praise and gratitude.

The Brave New World of the Enlightenment, by Louis T. Bredvold. University of Michigan Press, $3.95

Nor does he. The light of the Enlightenment, he thinks, was spurious; it lit the way to chaos and the night of moral relativism. And with ample quotation and admirable scholarship, he explains what happened.

This period, was, indeed, a great dividing point in political thought. Before it, the sinful nature of man and the imperfection of human institutions was accepted. The concepts of law and justice were not to be learned, as Cicero put it, "from the many pestilential statutes which nations put in force," nor from the votes of the people, nor from the decisions of judges. There were higher laws which were not man-made; call them natural laws or the laws of God, as you wish. But such mystic twaddle did not suit the scientific philosophers of the Enlightenment. They set out to produce a system of self-evident reason-centered ethics. Their descendants are trying still.

Two opposing views of human nature entered the field. One considered men as by nature wholly selfish, so that all laws should be based on self-interest. The other considered men as by nature wholly virtuous; all that was needed was to release the Noble Savage from the chains of a corrupt society. The former theory has brought materialist dictatorships, the latter has spread out into the innumerable follies of woolly Liberalism. Both are classic heresies, and heresies notoriously lead to consequences which their optimistic founders never foresaw.

Fatuous optimism is a characteristic of post-Enlightenment political

philosophers. Utopia is just around the corner. If men are naturally virtuous or, at least, rationally predictable, it should be possible to remove the impediments to their happiness. This impediment may be the institution of monarchy, or the church, or aristocracy, or government, or monogamy, or property: but, whatever it is, we have only to find it by scientific enquiry, and then abolish it, and all will be well. Some such hope still inspires many of the earnest social scientists who proliferate today.

As Reinhold Niebuhr says, "No cumulation of contradictory evidence seems to disturb modern man's good opinion of himself." The ideas of the Enlightenment have soaked deep into our thinking. Philosophy, at least in secular British and American universities, begins with Locke and Hume. The most fashionable books on moral and political theory are only more sophisticated versions of the Liberal and rationalist doctrines which flourished two hundred years ago.

As a corrective, Mr. Bredvold urges us back to Burke, who saw society as an organic whole; a contract of past, present and future; the product of slow growth, not of revolution; subject to moral laws which are not of its own inventing. For Burke, "prudence" was a master quality in good government; significantly, it is a quality which social reformers and rationalist philosophers rarely hold in much esteem. Burke saw, what the simpler history books either do not see or do not fully understand, that the French Revolution was unique because "it is a Revolution of doctrine and theoretic dogma." Such a revolution is, alas, no longer unique and we have better cause than Burke to know where it leads.

The heresiarch's best intentions often bring the worst results. The philosophers of the Enlightenment thought they were liberating men from man-built prisons. In fact, they were tearing down ancient shelters and leaving men exposed to the jungle. Henceforth there was to be no law except the laws passed by governments, no restraint on the sovereign will of the people, however tyrannical.

And yet we are puzzled. We may have no natural law to consult but we feel, indeed we know only too well, that to speak of an "unjust law" is not a contradiction in terms. No more today than in previous ages do the laws of any human society seem to coincide with the laws of that ideal city, of which alone, said Plato, the good man should consider himself a citizen. The laws of that city are not voted upon nor are they promulgated by decree; nor do they change from year to year. The Enlightenment did not abolish them. It only made them harder to discern.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Failure of Will

WALTER DARNELL JACOBS

"COWARDICE" is a word used by the authors of the three books here under review—and with reference to recent American conduct in international affairs.

General Gallois is most outspoken on the subject. Perhaps because he realizes that he is one of the last of a vanishing breed—the military intellectual—the General attempts to get in a few quick words before Fulbrightism breaks out in France. He argues that the maintenance of nuclear weapons and their improvement may point the way to the preservation of peace. This thesis obviously collides with current downtown D. C. thinking. But General Gallois does much to support the logic of his position. He contends that both sides have good reasons for not using nuclear weapons (our side because we just don't like to contemplate the effects; their side because they think they might win without using them; and both sides because neither can be sure of destroying the other's second-strike, retaliatory capability). Remove nuclear weapons, he adds, and war again becomes profitable, or at least thinkable, because retaliation loses much of its terror.

This crudely put synthesis does scant justice to the General's finely worked position but I think it captures the essentials. Even in the essentials, however, the argument fails. It does not take sufficiently into account the possibility of scientific breakthrough—or of cowardice. If the Soviet Union is the first to develop the anti-missile missile and is able to demonstrate that development, we are pinned. We are, in fact, in the absolute reverse position of that which we occupied when we had the nuclear monopoly together with the means to deliver nuclear weapons. Of course, we failed to exploit our advantage. It is most unlikely that the Soviets would be so considerate in a reversed situation.

Any American failure to exert every effort to develop the anti-missile missile first, is, obviously, culpable neglect of the national security. General Gallois touches lightly on this scientific, technical problem. He pays less attention to the possibility of the failure of Western will. The problem of will is, however, more acute. The nuclear weapon can sustain the balance of terror only when it is backed with the determination to use it. Unfortunately, recent evidences (*e.g.*, the retraining of F-86 crews in Europe to fight with conventional weapons, the failure to resume nuclear testing in the face of Khrushchev's insolent actions in Siberia and Novaia Zemlia, the removal of armed convoys into East Berlin, the surrender of a German refugee from a military train, etc.) indicate a serious corrosion of Western will. General Gallois can hardly be charged with the responsibility for anticipating this, but, still, it destroys his position.

PAUL KECSKEMETI is concerned with an earlier failure of Western will—the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. He doesn't examine it in just these terms, although he can not avoid touching on the problem. His chief interest in this most magnificent hour of the Hungarian people is sociological. What the masses were doing and what the elite were doing in their roles as sociological classes is what worries Kecskemeti. The fact that such sociological distinctions cannot be made beforehand does not bother him. He produces the required charts and the required pontifications (*e.g.*, "combative impulses resulted, generally speaking, from a combination of two factors, namely, bitterness and frustration on the one hand, and a feeling of strength on the other," and he explains that rebellions are more likely to occur in the political capital than elsewhere because "the opportunity to achieve something politically decisive gives people a unique motivation to join the rebellion").

Also he does produce much that is useful and new. Lamentably, what is new is not useful and what is useful is not new. That which is new is Kecskemeti's sociology of the revolution. That which is useful is his run-down of the events leading to the outbreak of violence. The former need not have been done and the latter has been done better elsewhere.

What Hans Speier has done on the Berlin matter is to review the situation from its genesis through the building of the Wall. Some of this may have been done before but hardly better (and hardly shorter—you get to Chapter 6 at page 31). His concern is with the political maneuverings of the Soviets and the West, particularly the manner in which we have so far faced their political blackmail. It is Khrushchev, not Speier, who ascribes certain American actions about Berlin to cowardice. This is a harsh word, but Khrushchev uses harsh words. The point is not to quibble over parlor niceties but to examine the charge. Khrushchev talks of burning American tanks and we move for a summit meeting and invite the fulminator into our cottage. He talks of turning West Germany into a cemetery (is it not notable how closely he is associated with tombs and graves?) and we suggest that negotiations are in order.

But these matters occurred under the late Herter-Eisenhower group of reactionaries. Now we have the youth of the Rusk-Kennedy (plus Ball less Bowles) progressives who have discovered that the danger is from without. How have they met the danger? Speier gives them good marks. I disagree, while understanding Speier's ability to be impressed by the actions taken in 1961—almost any ac-

---

The Balance of Terror: Strategy for the Nuclear Age, by General Pierre Gallois. Houghton Mifflin, $4.00

The Unexpected Revolution: Social Forces in the Hungarian Uprising, by Paul Kecskemeti. Stanford, $4.75

Divided Berlin: The Anatomy of Soviet Political Blackmail, by Hans Speier. Praeger, $4.95

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion would seem to be a strong one in comparison to what occurred earlier. The Kennedy reaction to the resumption of nuclear tests was to stress the fall-out danger. This was not the reaction of the strong nor the courageous. His reaction to the political pressures placed on Finland was studied silence. Strength should be made of sterner stuff. The President's reaction to Marshal Malinovsky's charge at the 22d Party Congress that the U.S. is preparing a nuclear attack on the USSR has not been noted.

This series of reactions does not, by any means, equal cowardice. It does equal an inability to read the lessons which Speier and Gallois (and, tangentially, Kecskemeti) stress. There are no moot points to the Communists. Any accommodation to Communist demands simply opens the field for further demands. The continuation of such accommodation leads not only to the strengthening of the Communist position but also to the weakening of the Western. In a severely weakened Western position who is to say that the cowards in our midst would not dominate those of courage?

Missing the Point

WILLIAM OLIVER MARTIN

IN *What Ivan Knows That Johnny Doesn't,* Arther S. Trace compares the education of Johnny and Ivan through the tenth grade with respect to reading, literature, foreign language, history, and geography, by means of an examination of representative textbooks in the United States and the USSR. The author's aim is to show that not only in science and mathematics, but also in the humanities and social sciences, Ivan receives a much better "training." Consider reading, for example. At the end of the fourth grade Ivan, by means of the phonetic method, has a vocabulary of 10,000 words and is reading literary classics. Johnny knows about 1,800 words and is reading selections written by textbook authors. The unfavorable comparison continues with the other subjects.

***What Ivan Knows That Johnny Doesn't,* by Arthur S. Trace Jr. Random House, $3.95**

Dr. Trace's conclusion is that Ivan and Johnny are taught the same basic subjects, but that the Soviets are more "thorough." Even granting some qualifications, his evidence cannot be dismissed. Soviet secularist education is more consistent and thorough than ours. What, then, should we do about it? It is all very simple. We should be more thorough than the Soviets—begin foreign languages earlier, teach more words to the fourth grade, along with more English and more and better geography, etc. In short, if thoroughness is the only "crucial difference," then we should do better what the Soviets are already doing.

WHAT Dr. Trace has really shown is that in promoting secularism and materialism in the public schools the USSR is doing a better job than the U.S., that it is more consistent and serious in its purpose, that it knows what it is doing and what is to be done, whereas the U.S. does not, and that we ought to hurry up and improve our own brand of secularism. This may not have been Dr. Trace's intention. But I am not at all certain just what he intended, and I doubt that he knows. Once, indeed, he even says something against secularism, and several times he speaks of Soviet education "warping" the minds of students. The explanation of the contradiction lies in the fact that the author is a good example of the separation of heart and head, of feeling and intellect. Intellectually he reflects the system he is emotionally against. Some examples and suggestions.

Item. The author constantly fails to distinguish between word and concept. A perfect example of positivistic writing is the statement that the schools must "strengthen instruction not merely in mathematics and the sciences, but also in the subjects which are concerned with ideas, *i.e.*, the humanities. . . ." In this way "the ideological position of the free world" will be strengthened. In short, mathematics and the sciences deal with truth-meanings; philosophy, theology, etc., deal with ideological meanings which serve to strengthen our "spiritual values," and which in turn strengthen our "faith." Faith in what? The answer is, our "faith and devotion to the democratic way of life."

Item. It needs to be emphasized that the Soviets are just as much concerned with "values" as anyone else. The real issue is whether God exists or not, whether values are merely a function of men's interests or are objectively grounded in the Creator-creature relationship. A revision of "basic subjects" to include philosophy and theology as kinds of *knowledge,* not ideologies, is necessary. Only then can the free world understand and recapture its heritage. It is not enough just to talk of "spiritual values."

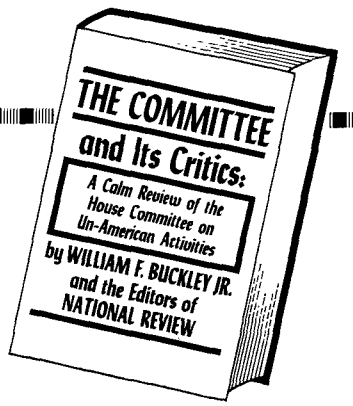
Item. Soviet education is concerned with "character building," building the "virtues," "parental love," etc. Maybe so, maybe not. There is a science of the virtues that has developed over a period of twenty-four hundred years. This and dialectical materialism are intrinsically incompatible. Hence, there remain only "virtue words" which have meaning in terms of Communist interest—such interest *constituting* morality, not being subordinate to it.

Item. The author is also unaware that a factual comparison of two educational systems is not sufficient as evidence for appraisals and "recommendations." That he lacks philosophical knowledge—not to say common sense—is an understatement. Sample: "But apart from such practical and obvious instances of the importance of knowing geography, it is primarily upon his knowledge of geography that anyone depends in orienting himself, his community, his country to the rest of the world." Even Ivan and Johnny know better than that. There is not a word about teaching Johnny our heritage in terms of which natural rights, the government of law rather than of men, have meaning.

The danger of a book like this is that the truth of many of its facts may obscure the inadequacy of its recommendations. The latter might be corrected by a book called: *What Neither Johnny nor Ivan Knows.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LAST CHANCE to get this book and save $3.00 *(or more)*


THE COMMITTEE
and Its Critics:
A Calm Review of the House Committee on Un-American Activities
by WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.
and the Editors of
NATIONAL REVIEW

DON'T DELAY: take advantage of this special pre-publication offer today!

THE COMMITTEE AND ITS CRITICS

This important book is by far the most complete and authoritative study of the Committee and its work ever undertaken. It includes the history of the Committee (including the Hiss Case); the way it works; what it has accomplished, plus a whole chapter on the San Francisco riots. Its 384 pages include contributions from such well-known anti-Communists as James Burnham (author of "Web of Subversion," etc.), Ralph de Toledano (author of "Seeds of Treason," etc.), and M. Stanton Evans (author of "Revolt on the Campus").

The Committee and Its Critics *will be published next month, and will sell everywhere for $4.95. But you can get it now for only $1.95 (or even free) in any of these three ways:*

1 **Renew your present subscription to National Review at the regular $8.00 rate. No matter when your subscription expires we will extend it a full year. You may then purchase *The Committee and Its Critics* for only $1.95, with all postage and handling charges paid by us. Thus you renew your subscription, pay only $9.95—and save a full $3.00.**

(Note: new subscribers may also take advantage of this special offer, on the same terms.)

2 **Give a friend a year's gift subscription to National Review, and you may purchase this new book, for yourself or for your friend, for $1.95, postpaid. Again, you pay only $9.95, and save $3.00.**

3 **Renew your present subscription for three years at the regular $22.00 rate and we will send you *The Committee and Its Critics* absolutely free and postpaid. (You may also give three one-year gift subscriptions at the same price, if you prefer.) You pay only $22.00, a saving of $2.00 on your renewal (or gifts), and get the book free—a total saving to you of $6.95.**

We are convinced that every conservative will want to own this book. (You will find it exciting reading now, and extremely useful in the years to come.) But in order to make this special discount offer possible, we had to agree to place an order with the publisher **before** presstime. So please hurry. **Orders received after publication cannot be accepted at the discount rate.** No need to send payment now—we'll charge your **National Review** account, if you prefer. The important thing is to fill out and mail the card facing this page now. We have made it air mail, to speed your reply.

THE AIR MAIL CARD FACING THIS PAGE WILL SPEED YOUR REPLY—MAIL IT TODAY!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Theatre

Portrait of the Reviewer

NOEL E. PARMENTEL JR.

ALL THIS really begins some time ago, at a party at Norman Mailer's house. Since Norman Mailer's guest list is apt to make a mixed bag in any case (Allen Ginsberg, Tiger Jones, a Mafia overlord, C. Wright Mills, and a famous society beauty were present and accounted for at this particular soirée), I took no particular notice when a grubby little man ambled up, stickily confided that he had just written a play about me, and cut out. "Who's the little creep," I asked the lady at my left, decidedly not the society beauty. "Don't you know?" she asked. "That's Jack Gelber. He has a new play. *The Apple*."

I remembered Gelber as the author of *The Connection*, the most dazzlingly original piece of theatre I had seen in a good many years. Drawn both by this and by the entrancing notion that someone had finally thought to immortalize me off-Broadway, I went down to the Living Theatre's opening of *The Apple* with a mixture of enthusiasm and trepidation. Howls of protest from that chorus of old aunties euphemistically known as the New York Drama Critics' Circle notwithstanding, I loved *The Apple*, plan to see it again, and recommend it to anyone looking for the original, the spontaneous, and the unhackneyed.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS

Diligently searched for and promptly reported free of charge. All authors, all subjects. Fiction, factual, technical No obligation—write today!

BOOKS-ON-FILE, Dept. NAT-7
Union City, New Jersey

ANY BOOK reviewed in this Book Section—or **any other current book**—is yours for **no more** than the bookstore price. We pay all postage and handling charges. Worldwide service, catalogue on request.

THE BOOKMAILER, INC.
Box 101—Murray Hill Station
New York 16, New York

The Complete Bookstore-by-Mail representing all U.S. publishers

The action is hard to describe. Unlike *The Connection*, *The Apple* has no basic plot; unlike either Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* or Pinter's *The Caretaker*, it has no discernible (at least to me) moral. More or less, what happens is this: a con man paints a picture on stage by tossing some paint at a sheet of plastic and mushing it up with a rolling pin. The painting is auctioned off to the audience; it went for seventeen dollars the night I was there. A Negro wanders on and off stage peddling cider and fortune cookies to the audience; a blonde hustler comes in with a rash of *double-entendre* jokes about selling her body to a hospital; a tough little refugee from *The Flower Drum Song* pitches in now and then with some jive talk. This crew is soon joined by an overt homosexual with a nihilistic bent. He is accompanied by a friend, a spastic, identified as a former mayor of Cicero, Illinois.

Free-form skits are more or less the order of the evening until the party is interrupted by a drunk from the audience who proceeds to give the assembled company unshirted hell about their ethnic backgrounds, social proclivities, and general *raisons d'être*. Although they soon form a cabal against him, he pleads immunity because his heart is bad. Finally the spastic is prevailed upon to fight him, the idea being that it will be an even match. The spastic falls on him and he dies.

Half time.

The rest of the play is a series of *No Exit* hells in which the dead man now finds himself. At the end, however, he turns out not to be dead at all but dead drunk, and is hustled off to Bellevue. To insure a doubly happy ending, the spastic turns out to be a stray from The Actors Studio intent upon playing the role. A member of the cast explains that "The Apple," a musician's term meaning New York, is something different to each person. "You can tell that a lot of people wanted this apple because it's all chewed up." If the fairy-nihilist were here "he'd break in and tell you that this apple is a golden Chinese apple and stands for knowledge." The con man would "give you a lot of jazz about Adam and Eve." The hustler would "find a way to get another bite out of it or maybe make soup." The Flower-Drum girl might "look at it and sing a song and Mr. Proach (the ersatz spastic) would say a prayer. I don't know what the madman would do. Probably throw it at you."

All of this, of course, tells you nothing of the brilliant improvisation, the wild comedy, the bewildering confusion, and the startling originality of *The Apple*. Or of the brilliant performances by Fred Miller as the drunk, by, indeed, every member of the cast. Or of Judith Malina's sure direction. Miss Malina, the founder of the Living Theatre, must be doubly commended here for her certainty in what must have been the country of the blind.

Although Gelber has wandered from the road he followed to *The Connection*, that coruscating, refreshingly message-less play about a group of musicians and heroin addicts, his world is still a rosy twilight affair, peopled by jazz saxophonists, playwrights, hooked scholars, homosexuals, Negroes, Salvation Army workers, country boys, nihilists, prostitutes, producers, drunks, movie cameramen, spastics, Orientals. He has certainly read into Brecht, Behan, Arrabal, Genet, and Eliot. He also knows his way around Mack Sennett, the Marx Brothers, and Olsen and Johnson. His tactic is the absurd; his targets the hooked and the hookers, the hokey, the hoaxed, and the huckster. His *lèse-majesté* is magnificent. His barbs are well aimed at the iconography of the Establishment, striking closest exactly at the point when his crossbow turns into a popgun and his *deus ex machina* takes a pratfall and exits left in a fast buck and wing.

To get back to where I fit into *The Apple*: I gathered from Gelber, and had my impressions confirmed by a piece in a little Leftist don't-do-it-yourself affair called *The Village Voice*, that I was cast as the heavy, the drunken reviler of all and sundry. Well, so be it. Personally, I have always found myself a very pleasant fellow in society. For another thing, I am considerably younger and a good

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deal better looking (I also have more hair) than Fred Miller, who favors Dave Beck much more than he does me. However, *de gustibus*. Because, heavy or no, I was delighted with *The Apple* and hope it will prosper as did *The Connection*. Jack Gelber stands out as an extraordinarily exciting young American playwright. Grubby little creep or no.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

CLOCK WITHOUT HANDS, by Carson McCullers (Houghton Mifflin, $4). Carson McCullers once wrote a perfect story: "The Sojourner," about a man who was exactly that, an expatriate who came home for his father's funeral, ran by chance into his ex-wife and had a drink with her, her second husband, and their child. She wrote another (I do not remember its name), almost as good, about a young mother, transplanted from her home in the South to a corporation suburb in Rockland County, where she began to drink and to grow careless with the children. What these stories shared with Miss McCullers' more celebrated fiction was her matchless feeling for the chasm between some people and the circumstances of their lives, her feeling for the social failure, for the condition in which some social cog is irrevocably missing. What Miss McCullers knew then and seems to have forgotten in *Clock Without Hands,* her newest novel, is that her characters are, in exactly that sense, special cases: the world is full, after all, of people who do mesh, who marry young men who work for the National City Bank, who join the Young Republicans and commute happily to Rockland County by way of a car pool, who, whatever their three-o'clock-in-the-morning terrors, do manage to function socially. It was precisely their existence that gave Miss McCullers' early fiction its point: her characters were misfits and grotesques—deaf mutes, adolescents, midgets, dying men—who in their extremity suggested what was hidden and dark in everyone, even Young Republicans. In *Clock Without Hands,* however, she has tried to make believe that those rather Gothic characters of hers make up society itself, rather than exist outside it; they discuss integration, control or failure to control riots, and comment upon mob behavior. It is rather like sending Annabel Lee out on a ILGWU strike, and it simply does not do.

J. DIDION

THE GRAND CAMOUFLAGE: *The Communist Conspiracy in the Spanish Civil War,* by Burnett Bolloten (Praeger, $7.50). The chief value of this report is that the author, United Press correspondent in Spain, was an eyewitness to the events he relates. Moreover, major facts outside his range of vision were checked through sixteen years of conscientious research. In the light of such observations and study, Burton Bolloten describes the techniques which enabled a relatively small Marxist-Leninist minority to hoodwink "millions of discerning people outside Spain . . . by virtue of a policy of duplicity and dissimulation of which there is no parallel in history." As camouflage, the Leftists used "a democratic frontispiece." While deadly weapons were placed in the hands of mobs, comprised in part of criminals released from jails, a steady process of collectivization, not only of large factories and farms, but also of modest handicraft industries, placed control of jobs, wages, consumer goods and food in the hands of local committees. This resulted in a tyranny of "revolutionary tribunals," spies and vigilantes who, as in Fidel Castro's Cuba today, preyed upon the public. The Popular Front, adroitly manipulated by the Communists, was transformed into class warfare. Nationalist victory in Spain was the prize of valor and strength.

J. F. THORNING

TOMORROW'S ILLITERATES, edited by Charles C. Walcutt (Little, Brown, $3.95). "A little child will not learn to spell or read if he is encouraged to concentrate only on outlines, as if our words were Chinese ideographs." So says Jacques Barzun in his introduction. And as you might guess, he's being sarcastic—with justification. For proof, here are six professionals in Reading to support his spleen with chapter and verse. For many U.S. children *are* learning to read "as if words were Chinese ideographs." The method is called Look-and-Say, and the six contributors present a dossier against it which rivals Robespierre at his most creative. Just make believe you're six years old and I'm the teacher. See the word "chair"? See how the "h" goes *way up,* then the rest of the word flattens out? This is the word for the thing you're sitting on. (Already, you're a little confused.) Look at it; say it; remember it. OK? The only trouble is, when you get to sixth grade you're mistaking "blare" for "chair"; "furnace" for "furniture"; "under panties" for "utter panic." What's wrong? According to the authors, the fault lies in ignoring the fact that "although the unit of reading is not the letter, the unit of learning to read most certainly is"; that words are composed of vowels and consonants which should be learned phonetically; that the result of the Look-and-Say method (now a massive vested interest of educationists *cum* textbook houses) is "that 75 per cent of our school population is reading markedly below its capabilities."

W. H. VON DREELE

CURTMANTLE, by Christopher Fry (Oxford, $3.50). When poets whimper exquisitely, in well-chosen words expressing their contempt for man, it is refreshing to see recklessly exuberant language joined with reverence toward the human mystery. Some of the lyric youth and lift has gone out of Fry in his new play; but he puts on the stage, in this time of vanished heroes, a convincing king. Though the "tragic fall" rarely covers more distance, these days, than the few feet from bed to the floor, Fry's Henry II falls from the sky. The energetic king tries to remake the world—not with the cold and anonymous schemes of our century, but openly, with his own right arm. Thomas Becket is presented as the man who knows the world cannot be remade; only redeemed. It is a great play.

G. WILLS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TULLER FOUNDATION
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ECONOMIC UNDERSTANDING

COLLEGE UNDERGRADUATES

If you are conservative emotionally but have no academic understanding of the conservative philosophy, attendance at the one-week summer school sponsored by the Tuller Foundation at Princeton, New Jersey, beginning June 18th, will not only be of real interest but also of great and enduring value to you.

For information write

Tuller Foundation for the Advancement of Economic Understanding
Tuller Building, Red Bank, New Jersey

Pension Trust and Profit Sharing Plan
Actuarial and Consulting Services

- DESIGNING
- INSTALLING
- ADMINISTRATION

MASON KLINCK
400 Park Avenue, New York City
PLaza 1-4200

LPI PRODUCTS FOR INDUSTRY
SINCE 1939

"PASS-ALONG" INFORMATION for your purchasing and maintenance personnel.

LPI STRUCTURAL SEALANT— Polysulfide rubber-epoxy base, adheres to all surfaces. Stops all leaks, expands and contracts in all temperatures, provides permanent caulking, not deteriorated by acids, oils, chemicals. Always remains flexible. Essential for curtain walls.

LATITE #30 EPOXY ADHESIVE Permanently bonds wood, metals, fibre glass and plastics. Strong and flexible. Withstands fuels, greases, extreme temperatures. Hardens like steel, sands like wood.

LATITE #50 FILLER — Non-shrinking, hardens without brittleness and becomes (when finished) a permanent nonvisible repair. For patching gouges in planking, holes, dents, abrasions, dry rot. May be sanded, sawed, painted. Adheres to almost everything.

LATITE EPOXY COATINGS — Protective coatings for all metal surfaces subject to corrosion.

Write for details

LATEX PROCESS, INC.
Melrose 76, Mass.

To the Editor

The Dollar Crisis

Permit me to commend you upon publication of the most lucid and complete analysis of the dollar crisis which I have recently read, namely an article by economics professor Hans F. Sennholtz ["Berlin Helps the Dollar," Dec. 30]. However, as Professor Sennholtz points out, the dollar crisis will inevitably get worse before it gets better. Whether or not he is an advocate of our return to the discipline of the domestic gold standard and an honest dollar is not apparent, but it would seem that he is economically erudite enough to appreciate that our present gold crisis stems primarily—I venture to say precisely—from the fact of our having been plagued with fiat, irredeemable, "managed" money for almost 28 years. If so, why did the author not include a short epilogue to his otherwise excellent article in favor of our return to the domestic gold standard before it is too late to obviate at best another devaluation of the dollar—followed of course by like action on the part of most other countries—and at the worst by national bankruptcy?

Bangor, Me. IRVING G. STETSON

Herbert L. Matthews

Confident that you want to keep the record straight, I can report that my conference with news executives of the *New York Times* [reported by NR, Dec. 9, 1961 as taking place in September 1961] took place in September 1959. This makes the assurances of these topflight newspapermen all the more impressive. They kept their word about the elimination of the Herbert L. Matthews byline in the *Times*. On the other hand, when Mr. Matthews addresses the Overseas Press Club or a comparable group, he gets routine news coverage. This is a correct procedure, in my opinion. It is sad, however, that a reporter as irresponsible as Mr. Herbert L. Matthews is permitted to produce editorials about the other American Republics. The damage to the Good Neighbor Policy, although less noticeable, is undeniable. Almost every U.S. measure upholding freedom and decency for the Cuban people suffered attack in the editorial columns of the *Times*. Worst of all, glaring errors of fact were discernible in these pieces.

I am happy to add that one of the first students of history to characterize Mr. Herbert L. Matthews as a bad reporter was your undersigned friend and supporter. This was done before the annual, national meeting of the Catholic Historical Association in the Belvedere Hotel, Philadelphia, Dec. 28, 1937. The subject of the address was "Why The Press Failed on Spain."

(FATHER) JOSEPH F. THORNING, PH.D., D.D.
Professor of Latin American History, Marymount College
Arlington, Va.

I read with particular interest your book review of Mr. Matthews' new book, *The Cuban Story* [November 4]. In it, you speak of his judgment of Latin American situations. You know, of course, that he was considered to be a fine war correspondent, and was renowned for his judgment of all situations. This may interest you. If you will look at the Sunday magazine section of the *New York Times* for that Sunday in 1945 of the week before Mussolini fell, you will find an article by Mr. Matthews in which he states that Mussolini will never fall. Fine judgment, one might think? As is known, *Il Duce* fell the following Monday.

New York City DAVID BLOCK

Progress* vs. *Tradition

In recent years, I have greatly enjoyed the contributions to NATIONAL REVIEW's "From the Academy" by Russell Kirk. But after reading in your September 23 issue . . . about "Multiple Shops," the kindest thing I can say to him is "shoemaker, stick to your last!" So long as Mr. Kirk confines himself to the educational field, his writings are sound and logical. But once he stepped out of his bailiwick, he seemed to be worlds removed from reality.

Mr. Kirk attributes the decline in the number of "small and varied shops" and their replacement by what he contemptuously refers to as "vast standardized commercial chains" to two main causes. One is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

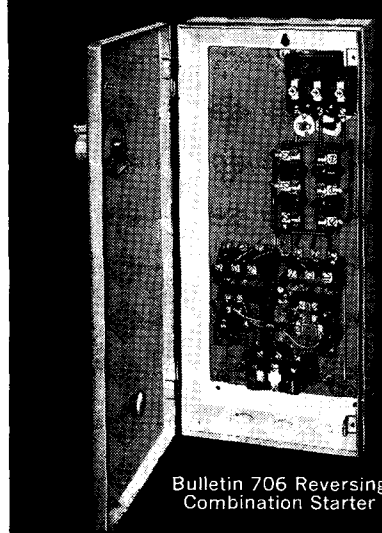
the pressure of national labor unions; the other, "progressive" income taxes, death duties, etc. Be that as it may, the *real* reason for the ascendency of the chains is simply that they have consistently done a better job and the public prefers them.

Mr. Kirk, in describing chain stores, present and future, uses such terms as: "Nasty, pretentious big stores selling dreary wares"; ". . . the socialists' cooperative societies, whose stores outdo even the big 'private' chains in hideousness and shabby service." Now, I doubt very much if the stores in England are as awful as Mr. Kirk indicates they are. But if they are, they are vastly different from their counterparts in the States. Before Mr. Kirk attempts to write another article on retailing, please urge him to walk through one of the newer stores—whether Woolworth, W. T. Grant, J. C. Penney or one of the huge so-called Discount Stores such as Korvette's (or one of my own company's G-E-X Stores). Far from being "dreary," such stores are truly exciting. They are bright, clean, cheerful. In them you can shop in air-conditioned comfort for everything from aspirin tablets to an electric dishwasher. These new, modern stores are a far cry from the locally owned and operated "general stores" of yesteryear. Such expressions as ". . . hideousness and shabby service," "monotonous and ugly," etc. would have aptly described them. Retailing first came of age in the twenties. Through a continuing evolutionary process, retail distribution has become a science, not to say an art. Through successive revolutions, it has produced the chain specialty shop, the variety store, the supermarket and more recently, the suburban shopping centers. Still more developments are currently planned.

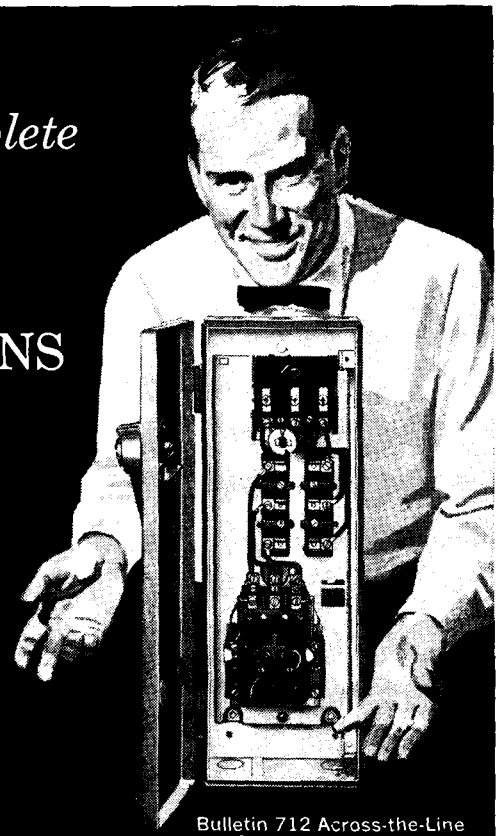
The function of the modern merchant is to make available to the consumer the products of our factories and our fields at the lowest possible costs; to take the drudgery out of shopping; to place before the shopper the widest possible choice of goods and price ranges in pleasant, conveniently located stores. You can tell Mr. Kirk that the old-fashioned storekeeper is not equipped to do this. Contrary to Mr. Kirk's mistaken concept, the local shopkeeper's overhead is not lower, but higher. His modern competitor spreads his overhead over many units and is able to

The Most Complete Control for INDUSTRIAL INSTALLATIONS

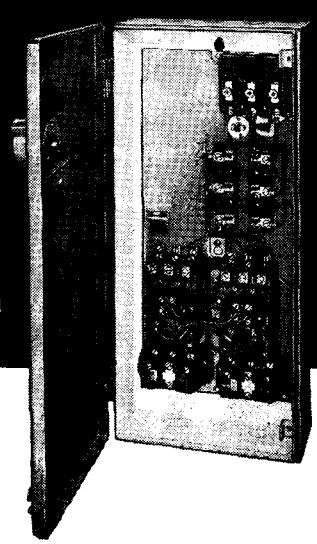
A-B QUALITY



Bulletin 706 Reversing Combination Starter



Bulletin 712 Across-the-Line Combination Starter



Bulletin 716 Multi-Speed Combination Starter

New Allen-Bradley Combination Starters give Far More for Your Money

Allen-Bradley combination starters have all the qualities that modern, high production operations must have in motor control. They bring you small size, reliable operation, simple design, extra interrupting capacity, long life, and generous wiring room. Also, installation is simpler and less expensive as compared with using a separate disconnect switch with a separate starter. Greater safety is another "cost-free" advantage. The door of the combination starter enclosure cannot be opened until the visible contact disconnect switch is OPEN and the starter is dead. These new A-B combination starters are as advanced in appearance as they are in performance. Really, you ought to know more about these new starters. Please write for Publication 6100: Allen-Bradley Co., 1210 South Third Street, Milwaukee 4, Wisconsin.

ALLEN-BRADLEY

Member of NEMA

Quality Motor Control

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED

NATIONAL REVIEW ACCEPTS

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. NATIONAL REVIEW *reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason, and of course will not knowingly accept an advertisement from any Communist, facist, or racist advertiser. Readers should bear in mind, however, that it is impossible for* NATIONAL REVIEW *to investigate the subject-matter or sponsorship of every advertisement acceptable on its face. Rates per insertion: 40¢ per word, minimum 10 words. If a box number is desired count two extra words. Text, accompanied by full payment in the form of cash, check or money order, must be received 25 days before publication date. All response to box numbers will be forwarded and postage billed periodically. Mail to be called for at* NATIONAL REVIEW *will be held 60 days only. Address: Classified Dept.,* NATIONAL REVIEW, *150 East 35 Street, New York 16 N. Y.*

LITERARY

LOCATE any book. Best prices. Aardvarks, Box 668-N, San Diego 12, California.

WILL PAY $50 for Bound Volume No. 1 of National Review in good condition. Box 1, National Review.

SPEAKERS

AVAILABLE FOR LIMITED SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS during 1962 season: Wm. F. Buckley Jr., Frank S. Meyer, Wm. A. Rusher, Wm. F. Rickenbacker, Willmoore Kendall. Write to M. Catherine Babcock, Inc., 528 Southside Road, Virginia Beach, Va. for details.

NEWSMAN, LECTURER, SPECIALIST ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. Traveled 60 countries. 1961: Africa (including Katanga, Angola), behind Iron Curtain. 1960: Cuba twice (jailed), Dominican Republic. 1959: Middle East, USSR. NR contributor. Box 11, National Review.

MINNESOTA CONSERVATIVE CITIZENS COMMITTEE presents Ronald Reagan on "Losing Freedom By Installments" at the Radisson Hotel, January 29, 1962. Dinner at 6:30 ($3.50), Lecture at 8 ($2.50, Students $1.00). Total for dinner and lecture: $6.00. For reservations call or write Mrs. Pritchard, P.O. Box 6152, Minneapolis 24, Minn. WA 2-1285.

TRAVEL

AIR LINE, STEAMSHIP AND CRUISE reservations at published prices for vacation and commercial travel. Contact Travel House of Garden City, 988 Franklin Avenue, Garden City, New York. Call PI 1-3700. New York City residents call AX 1-3737.

ORGANIZATIONAL

CENTRAL QUEENS YOUNG REPUBLICAN CLUB cordially invites you to attend the screening of the provocative film "RED CHINA—OUTLAW!" on Sunday, January 28 at 2:30 p.m. at the Corona Republican Club located at 102-08 Roosevelt Ave., Corona, Queens. Refreshments served and dancing to stereophonic music await your pleasure. $1.25 admission. For information call John Baecher, TW 9-8938.

GOLDWATER lapel tabs (black on gold): 25 for $1.00; 100 for $3.00; 500 for $10.00; 1000 for $15.00. COFAM, Box 475, Troy, N.Y.

THE DELAWARE DEFENDERS OF THE REPUBLIC, BOX 2042, Wilmington 99, DELAWARE will mail free their action leaflet which can be adapted for other conservative groups.

YOUR AMERICA—OUR GOVERNMENT. Documentary on agencies that would substitute One World-World Court for our freedom, 25¢. The Evanston Panel, Box 872, Evanston, Illinois.

"GOLDWATER FOR PRESIDENT," bumper stickers, 6 for $1.00. Box 5243, Sherman Oaks, Calif.

FED UP WITH NEW FRONTIERISM? Order 'I Miss Ike' bumper stickers, 4 for $1, P.O. Box 1186, New Rochelle, N.Y.

JOBS AND JOB HUNTERS

NETTLE CREEK INDUSTRIES, nation's leading manufacturer of decorative bedspreads and pillows, has opening for young executives with ambition. Unlimited opportunity with rapidly expanding firm. Applicants must have considerable experience in home furnishing sales, advertising or sewing factory management. Write Nettle Creek Industries, 260 Fifth Avenue, NYC

INVESTMENTS

DO YOU INVEST? For prompt, courteous service and convenient midtown stock brokerage facilities, phone Leon Weil, Co-manager, Steiner Rouse & Company, MU 2-0300, Lexington and 41st St., New York City. Members New York Stock Exchange.

MISCELLANEOUS

ANTI-COMMUNIST TRACTS. (1) "Why We Are Losing" (2) "Raising the Minimum Wage" (3) "Facsimile of Letter to Senator Goldwater" (4) "Review & Comment" (5) "Facsimile Letter to Congressman Judd" (6) "Two More Yaltas"* (7) "Actions Speak Louder"* (8) "Warning."* 15¢ each. (*20¢) Public Opinion, Box 4044N, Long Island City 4, New York.

STAMP JUNGLE including Zabu, Kookaburra, Koalabear, Kangaroo, Rhinoceros, 10¢. Approvals. Crown Stamp Company, Virgil 314, Ontario.

WANT BRIGHTER MORNINGS? Get up and live with "Lift." Harmless, non-habit forming. 10 tablets $1.00. C. Andrews, P. O. Box 228, Chagrin Falls, Ohio.

TRADE ASSOCIATION HINTS booklet now available. Twelve Dollars. Write FAY A. LANGDON, 526 South Alandele, Los Angeles 36, California.

Your own PATRIOTIC SLOGAN, 1 or 2 lines hot-stamped on a LINDY ball pen. NO-STAIN blue ink, or LEGAL COPY permanent ink, or AUDITORS' fine point. $35.00 per 100 pens. POSTPAID. VISTA ENTERPRISES, P.O. Box 138, CULVER CITY, California.

LEARN WHILE ASLEEP, self-hypnosis, prayerplant experimental. Details, catalog FREE. Research Association, Box 24-NL, Olympia, Washington.

CONSERVATIVES! Help block leftist measures, and support sound ones, by sending skillfully-aimed and carefully-timed letters to key Congressmen, newspapers, etc. Join Public Action, Inc.—the fast-growing legislative service that keeps an eye on bills before the Congress and alerts conservatives when it's time to act. Just $2 a year will show you how to Get Results from your government. Send check or money order to Dept. N, Public Action, 131 East 69th St., New York 21, New York.

107 DISTINCT British Colonial Stamps. 10¢. Approvals. Linstamp, St. Catharines 414, Ontario.

utilize the finest talents available in the field of retail distribution.

In conclusion, one must ask where Mr. Kirk gets the idea that the retail industry should be held responsible for the preservation of historic sites, medieval architecture and the like. If the local historical societies and the government do not see fit to preserve "the lanes of Petty Curry in Cambridge," why blame "the big concerns" if they are swept away to make room for retail outlets to serve the public?

New York City I. R. DICKSON

Katanga and the U. S.

We have supported self-determination for Senegal from the Mali Federation, for Syria from the United Arab Republic; why don't we give support to Katanga? The only proper aim of our foreign policy is that which serves the legitimate interests of our nation. It is in our interest that the civilized and anti-Communist government of Katanga be protected from the encroachments of the UN.

Brooklyn, N.Y. DENIS KILLEEN

Something Missing

It has come to my attention that a poster advertising the United States Air Force portrays an officer walking down a flag-laden street in some foreign country. Foremost among the flags pictured was that of the United Nations and nowhere in the picture can be found the flag of our country. This can very easily give rise to the idea: "Join the U.S. Air Force and fight for the UN." This is a disgrace but it is also the way some people would like things to be.

Villanova, Pa. WILLIAM H. KELLY
Villanova University

One More Committee

I received your issue of Dec. 16 with the special report about the Rome Conference in the absence of my wife [Mme. Suzanne Labin]. I am glad, of course, at the sympathy expressed by Mr. Nathaniel Weyl, but I must say one of his criticisms does not apply. It is very clear from Suzanne's writing that there is no difference between "propaganda" and "organization." One is conceived as an organic part of the other; organization being the skeleton of propaganda, and propaganda the flesh of organization. What is true is that we were still reluctant to launch the Freedom League for the simple but sad reason that we

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lack the financial means. One of the basic purposes of the Congress was, precisely, to arouse public opinion to such an extent that it would be possible to create a movement on a proper scale, which is to say considerably larger than any organized anti-Communist movement thus far. There would be no use in creating one more committee, among so many, if it keeps the same relationship to the menace, namely that of a fly against an elephant.

Paris EDOUARD LABIN

Mythical Modern Mother

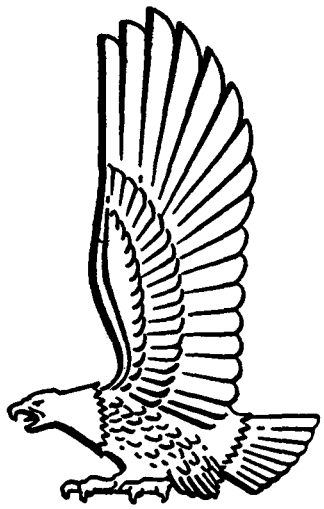
I've just now stolen a few minutes to read my Dec. 30 NATIONAL REVIEW, and naturally after reading her article about Christmas 1960, the first thing I turned to was Aloise B. Heath's "It Says Here. . . ." We know just how it is, except we only have three children. (Three is *plenty*, but I say "only" in relation to Mrs. Heath's ten.) We think both articles are about the best and funniest (but so true) descriptions of Christmas in a family we have ever heard.

Sacramento, Cal. MRS. FRANCIS K. WILSON

JAMES BURNHAM

(Continued from p. 60)

Although this Afro-Asian-UN neutralism Strategy can be traced back to a Suez-Hungary root, its really vigorous growth has come in the past year under the nurture of the Stevenson-Cleveland-Rostow clique. John Foster Dulles never went for it, though his rather abstract moralism got him to go along with the Suez folly. Dean Acheson—for all his blindness in the China catastrophe—sought "situations of strength": strength, that is, for America and for the West. That goal was surely right even if his methods were inadequate. The West at this stage neither can, nor needs to, make the entire underdeveloped region unqualifiedly pro-Western. But there must be, for the West's security, an adequate number of firmly pro-Western strong points. For the Western Strategy, these would be the points of concentration. The transformation of the entire underdeveloped region into a "genuinely neutralist" mishmash—which is the inevitable outcome of the Stevenson-Cleveland-Rostow line—merely processes it for Communist digestion.



"We cannot expect the Americans to jump from Capitalism to Communism, but we can assist their elected leaders in giving Americans small doses of Socialism, until they suddenly awake to find they have Communism."

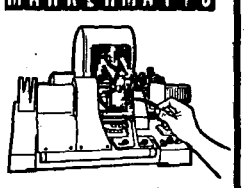
Nikita Khrushchev
(Shortly before visit to U.S.)

W.H. BRADY CO.

Manufacturers of Quality Pressure-Sensitive Industrial Tape Products, Self-Bonding Nameplates, Automatic Machines for Dispensing Labels, Nameplates, Masks and Tape. EST 1914

791 WEST GLENDALE AVE. MILWAUKEE 9, WISCONSIN

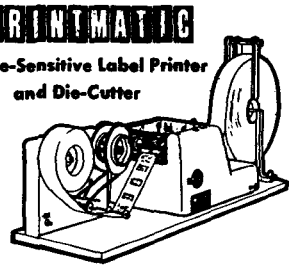
MARKERMATIC



Automatic Marking Machine

PRINTMATIC

Pressure-Sensitive Label Printer and Die-Cutter



BRADY *Automatic* LABEL DISPENSER for self-sticking Labels, Nameplates, Masks and Tapes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Don't miss your boat!

. . . or your plane. Don't arrive to find your favorite hotel full. Travel the easy, *modern way—have everything waiting* for you—let Margaret Cone make all your reservations now. Whether you are on business or vacation, you should enjoy yourself. And you *will* if you contact

MARGARET CONE TRAVEL SERVICE
Dept. R-1, 520 Fifth Ave.
New York 36, N.Y.
Tel. OXford 7-0796

GRAYLING STATE BANK
Grayling, Michigan
A Conservative Bank

Bank by mail with us—postage is paid both ways. 4% paid on savings certificates. Deposits insured up to $10,000.

CONSERVATISM

(Continued from p. 59)

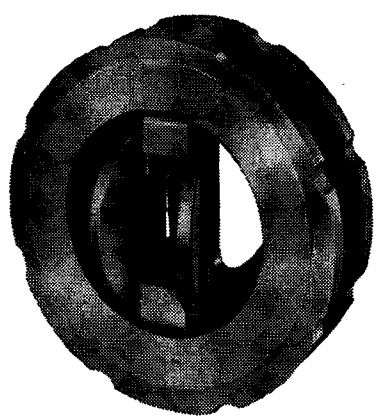
veloped so successfully in England. (That Mr. Auerbach can think of England in the latter half of the eighteenth century as somehow medieval serves to justify Jacques Barzun's strictures on the American Ph.D.; a cursory reading of Lecky or Leslie Stephen would have dispelled this curious illusion.) There is no inconsistency between the *Letter to a Noble Lord* and *Thoughts on Scarcity:* for Burke was not trying to harmonize medieval economic practices and constitutional government, but rather was engaged in a justification of certain enduring moral and political norms.

When Burke speaks eloquently of the age of chivalry, he is not advocating a medieval political structure, but simply is rebuking the French radicals for their ignorance of the past, without which the present could not be.

Similarly, Auerbach seems to think that Burke's defense of aristocracy is somehow medieval—and that therefore Senator Goldwater cannot hold the same concept of just leadership. (According to this line of reasoning, John Adams, too, must have been a medievalist—and even Jefferson.) But what Burke actually said is this: "A true natural aristocracy is not a separate interest in the state, or separable from it. It is an essential integrant part of any large body rightly constituted. It is formed out of a class of legitimate presumptions, which, taken as generalities, must be admitted for actual truths." And Burke goes on to include among this natural aristocracy—without which there can be no nation—not merely landed proprietors, but the genuinely leisured and strictly educated; the administrators of law and justice; professors of science and arts; rich traders with their "habitual regard to commutative justice." One remarkably good expression of this natural aristocracy, as things have turned out, is the United States Senate, of which Mr. Barry Goldwater is so eminent a member. Such an aristocracy is not "medieval," but simply essential to every just and successful civil social order.

Gradual Fusion

Mr. Auerbach, a liberal ideologue, is distressed because conservatives are making headway nowadays—and so he reproaches them for not behaving like ideologues of another persuasion. But I fear that thinking conservatives will not meekly squeeze themselves into Mr. Auerbach's rather medieval categories. What we have seen during recent years in this country, and somewhat earlier in Britain, is the gradual fusion of conservatives and old-fangled liberals (the minority faction of the liberal interest) into a fairly coherent body of opinion. Walter Bagehot predicted, and approved, this development as early as 1875. Not being ideologues, people of conservative convictions have modified and improved their practical politics to suit the needs of our age. But being ideologues, liberals of Mr. Auerbach's stamp cling to hollow slogans, refusing to admit that liberalism is a dead thing in the twentieth century: and thus we arrive at the paradox which Mr. Auerbach cannot see, that nowadays liberals are far more mossbacked, and "conservative" in the bad sense of the term—an inverted conservatism of negations—than are the real conservatives.



Mission Duo-Chek valves

Mission Duo-Chek Valves weigh approximately 10 per cent as much as conventional check valves. Smaller, lighter Duo-Chek Valves mean that you save on space, weight, installation, and price. But, you are getting a check valve with a bubble-tight seal, anti-slam closure, long life built in. No load is carried on the plate hinges. No external parts. No lubrication required.

The sine wave seal prevents seepage, yet holds without leaking or distortion at maximum test pressure. The sealing material is molded and bonded into a metal groove, making an "O"-ring type seal. Pressure deforms the packing. Metal-to-metal contact completely encloses the sealing material, preventing pinching off under pressure. Available in steel, 316 stainless, aluminum, and bronze to fit ASA raised face or ring joint flanges.

MISSION MANUFACTURING CO. P. O. BOX 4209, HOUSTON, TEXAS CABLE ADDRESS "MISSCO"
EXPORT OFFICE: 30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NEW YORK • In the United Kingdom: MISSION MANUFACTURING CO., LTD., 1 Mayfair Square, London W. 1 England • cable address "MISSOMAN"

MISSION MANUFACTURING CO.

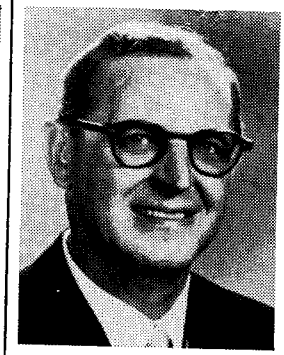
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ORGANIZED YOUNG CONSERVATIVES HELPED ELECT THESE CONSERVATIVE LEADERS

☆ OHIO ☆

Rep. John Ashbrook

☆ INDIANA ☆

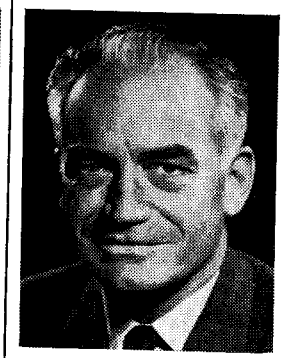


Rep. Donald Bruce

☆ MAINE ☆

Rep. Peter Garland

☆ ARIZONA ☆



Sen. Barry Goldwater

☆ TEXAS ☆

Sen. John Tower

YOUNG CONSERVATIVES UNITE NOW!

. . . Help retire aging liberal incumbents.

. . . Help elect dynamic, youthful conservative leaders.

. . . Help acquaint the public with the ideas and programs of the NEW CONSERVATISM.

You Must ORGANIZE To Accomplish These Objectives: Join With Thousands Of Other Young Conservatives And Become A Member Of YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM — TODAY!

By Joining YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM You Can Become Effective.

. . . Learn the techniques of political action from the precinct level up . . . Implement speaking programs and rallies through your chapter to acquaint the public with conservative views

CUT HERE

MAIL TO:

Young Americans For Freedom
79 Madison Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

☐ Send me YAF's Organization Kit which includes all necessary materials for starting a YAF Chapter.

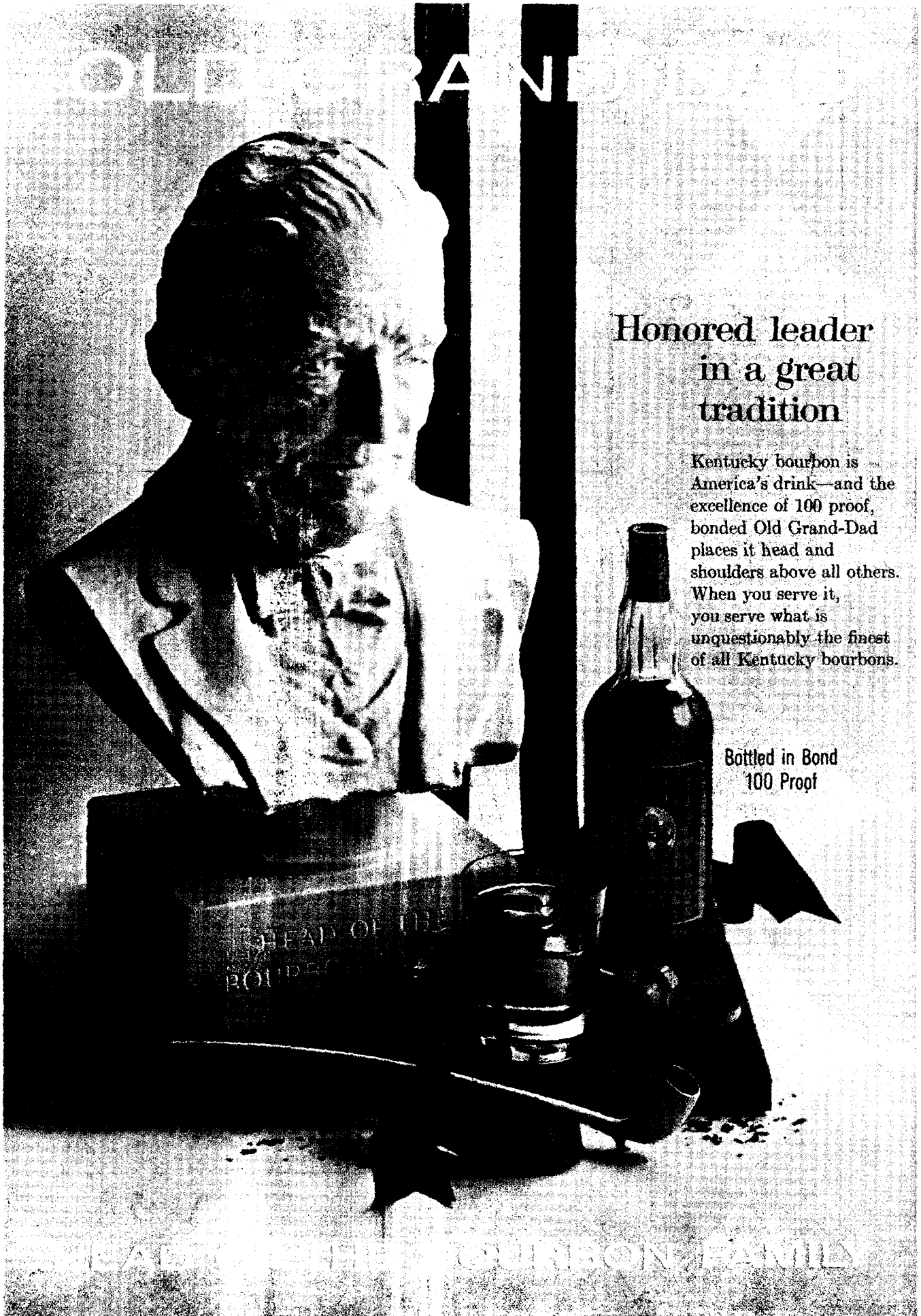
☐ I want to become a member of YAF. Enclosed please find $1.00 in payment of my 1962 Membership Dues.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


Honored leader in a great tradition
Kentucky bourbon is America's drink—and the excellence of 100 proof, bonded Old Grand-Dad places it head and shoulders above all others. When you serve it, you serve what is unquestionably the finest of all Kentucky bourbons.
Bottled in Bond
100 Proof

KENTUCKY STRAIGHT BOURBON WHISKEY • THE OLD GRAND-DAD DISTILLERY COMPANY, FRANKFORT, KY. • DISTRIBUTED BY NATIONAL DISTILLERS PRODUCTS COMPANY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED